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*BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES FOR* 1883.

# ADVANCED THOUGHT

IN

# EUROPE, ASIA, AUSTRALIA,

&c. &c.

BY THE

## REV. JOSEPH COOK,

AUTHOR OF

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BIOLOGY, | MARRIAGE, | MIRACLES, |
| TRANSCENDENTALISM, | CONSCIENCE, | SPIRITUALISM, ETC. ETC. |
| ORTHODOXY, | HEREDITY, | |

TO WHICH IS ADDED

*A PERSONAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR,*

BY ~~MERRITT~~ BEARD, ~~D.D.~~ M.D.,
George M.

LONDON:
RICHARD D. DICKINSON,
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1883.

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A

# PERSONAL SKETCH OF JOSEPH COOK,

## *WITH A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF HIS PHILOSOPHY.*

Mr. Cook was born under the shadows of the Adirondack Mountains, in Ticonderoga, N.Y., a little less than forty years ago, and accordingly may now be said to have just reached the time of maximum productiveness (thirty-nine), as is proved by the statistics of genius in all departments of thought. His early years were passed partly at home and partly at a school in Canada, where he gained his first knowledge of the French language. Admirers of his oratory may be interested to know that in his early boyhood he was accustomed to practise extemporaneous speaking in the open air in company of a friend. Their habit was to write down a number of topics on slips of paper, put them in a hat, draw one at random, and speak upon it for a specified number of minutes. Dr. Peabody, of Cambridge, speaks of Mr. Cook as an orator born and not made. This is half true and half untrue. He is both an orator born and an orator made. He has all the physical qualities of the orator. The impression he instantly gives is that of size, quantity, massiveness of being. A life opponent of materialism, he is in his own personality and physique one of the most material of men. In his manner there is at all times, in private as in public, an impressiveness and heartiness that are fully explained by his physiology and psychology, but to which lovers of delusions are wont to apply the vague and incorrect term, animal magnetism.

His voice, eyes, countenance, head, hands, and body, generally, are all formed for the orator; but no man of his age, I am sure, has studied oratory more thoroughly than he.

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where his remarks attracted both attention and audiences. Such was the birth of the Boston Monday Lectureship, which is now organized on a permanent foundation. In October, 1876, the size of the audiences compelled the managers to transfer the lectures to Park Street Church, whence they were crowded out to Tremont Temple, where they are now delivered.

When but a lad, as his father tells me, Mr. Cook, when asked what profession he would select, replied that he would be "a teacher of teachers." After a quarter of a century of training and waiting and testing, the dream of boyhood was fulfilled. He came unto his own and his own received him. Thoughts and language, methods and manners, by which country audiences, even in the vicinity of Boston, had been astonished without always being edified, were found to meet the wants of the higher culture of Boston and Cambridge and Concord. Criticism was reversed; people talked less of his eccentricities, more of his excellences; a larger jury now passed upon his claims, and it was soon found that he was best appreciated by the best men; ideas and expressions and suggestions, long familiar to his friends, are now become the possession and the admiration of the people. Previously he had been as a whale, floundering in a narrow stream; now, for the first time, he had full sea-room. Very much of the criticism that has been bestowed upon Mr. Cook, both favourable and the reverse, is of a non-expert or one-sided nature; men see one element of his character; a single passage, perhaps, of his writings; hear or read some anecdote in regard to him, and straightway pass judgment. Mr. Cook is a large man, and it takes a long time to go round him; a longer time to see all sides of his nature and study them in their reciprocal relations. Of Dr. Chalmers, it was said "he was not one man; he was a thousand men." Of Mr. Cook it may be said that at least he is two men: on one side he is a reasoner, a seeker after causes, and an utter believer in universality of the law of causation as much as Montaigne or Hume or Strauss. On the other side, he is a reverential religionist, leaning on the supernatural, trusting in man, believing in God, and hoping for immortality as a Wesley or Payson or Moody. Were it not for the rationalistic side of his character he would be an emotional re-

vivalist; were it not for the reverential side he would be a leader among rationalists. It is the confluence of these two streams—reverence and reason—that make him what he is—a philosophic evangelist. It is this combination of absolutely opposite qualities that causes strangers who try to criticise or analyze Mr. Cook to be so severely puzzled. Like most men who achieve success, he owes much to his defects; a lack of man-of-the-worldness, a distaste for time and strength-consuming pleasures, an instinctive aversion to ordinary social gossip, and a general indifference to those trifles that are so dear to nearly all other men on the globe, enable him without struggle or effort to concentrate his entire cerebral force on the labour of his life; the very overflowingness of his imagination, the extreme and almost painful intensity of his temperament with correlative want of repose, and unwillingness to rest on a neutral point between the positive and negative poles of belief, his optimism and his extravagance of statement are all aids and additions to his oratory. He has much wit, but relatively little humour: but the lack of humour makes him oftentimes unconsciously witty. In his oratory Mr. Cook is always natural and largely conversational; he has studied, and with great profit, in the school of Wendell Phillips, although at times he is aggressive and violent. His oratory, indeed, taken in all its phases and moods and shades and variations, is a fit channel through which his peculiar and original rhetoric easily flows without overflowing. As he was both a born and made orator, so he is a born and made rhetorician. On his father's side he inherits a prolific imagination; hence his many metaphors, similes, personifications and flashes of poetry that on any subject or any occasion so captivate the popular heart. His father can hardly open his lips without using a metaphor, and describes the processes of agriculture in much the same language that his son employs as he assails the theories of Haeckel, or arrays the arguments for a belief in immortality. But he has not trusted to Nature; from his boyhood up to the present he has been an industrious and omnivorous reader. The key-notes to his rhetoric he takes from various authors; he goes to Carlyle for words, to Macaulay for the arrangement of words, to Sir William Hamilton for both; thus granting the trinity

of poetry, clearness, and logic. His sentences are live coals; if they sometimes appear dark, you have but to stir them and they sparkle; let a gust of emotion sweep over them and they burst in flames. These flames break forth sometimes spontaneously, unexpectedly, when least looked for, and they give all the delight of surprise.

Take the following perfect passage, which bursts forth extemporaneously right in the midst of a numbered series of cold statements of science and logic, as a beautiful flower out of the crevices of rocks:

"Gentlemen, there is more than one soul here besides mine sad with unspeakable bereavement. There are eyes here besides mine which weary the heavens with beseeching glances for one vision of faces snatched from us in fiery chariots of pain. Is death the breaking of a flask in the sea? Is there for me no more personal immortality than for a consumed candle?"

Such eloquence as this will hush to silence even an audience of Sadducees. Take the whole of his remarks on Daniel Webster—the best of all his preludes, and the one to which those who get his book will do well to turn first of all. He who says that he is unable to see any thing of beauty or power in that passage thereby criticises not Mr. Cook, but his own critical acumen.

Those who follow and accept this analysis of Mr. Cook will not find it hard to understand—what to many has been a mystery—why at times during the past winter many were unable to gain admission to Tremont Temple at the hour of his Monday Lecture; why he holds with equal firmness the cultured few and the thoughtless many; why the old lady who had a habit of attending the lectures, when asked if she could understand more than a quarter of his lectures, replied, "But I'm willing to go a good ways for the quarter I can understand," and why any one besides himself is in the hall when he discourses on such a blind and repelling theme as "The Unexplored Remainders of Conscience."

Boston has been blamed for liking Mr. Cook; but his popularity is not confined to Boston, nor to New England, nor to this continent. Editors lay in wait for him, publishers besiege him; he has

lecture engagements for every available night during the winter; his discourses are quickly and variously republished in England; his highest and most extravagant compliments come from across the sea. The voice of other countries, it has been said, is the voice of posterity. Reputation rightly analyzed is never factitious. Where there is flame there is combustion; where there is combustion there must be matter of some kind to be burned. No other living man in the theological world just at present reaches every week so wide an audience. The permanency of this popularity cruel time must test, but oratory of the first class is always in order. Who tires of hearing Wendell Phillips on any theme. Mr. Cook talks better on politics than on religion—better on social topics than on either. Popular oratory of the cheap kind is in this country common enough, perhaps too common; oratory, with thought behind it, is rare here or anywhere. Absence of thought stories, pictures, splurge—these are the four qualities in an orator that American audiences most dearly love, as all lecture managers know. Mr. Cook, however, has thought, with a sufficiency of stories, pictures, and eloquence to cover and adorn it and buoy it up.

### MR. COOK'S PHILOSOPHY.

Mr. Cook's philosophy must be considered apart from the manner in which it is propounded; in admiring a glorious painting we do not ask whether the scene is real or fanciful; mythology is everywhere the great storehouse of art. Mr. Cook as an artist and Mr. Cook as a philosopher are two persons. As a philosopher he is more or less original in three respects. It seems to be the more important to briefly state his philosophy, for the reason that in the notices of his lectures and reviews of his book, so far as I have seen, it has been quite misapprehended alike by friends and foes.

1. He aims to scientifically prove religion. A formal exhaustive attempt of this kind has, I believe, never before been made: for the utmost that the school of Paley and Butler attempted was to show the plausibility, the probability, the reasonableness, of certain fundamental religious beliefs. Religion has been a matter to be believed, not proved. Mr. Cook is a believer in the Gospel of ren-

dered reasons; if a doctrine is true it can be proved to be true; a doctrine that is proved to be inconsistent with established science is proved to be untrue. He regards as mediæval and cowardly such advice as was recently given by Dr. Crosby at the Pan-Presbyterian Council, that we do not attempt to meet scientists face to face. He does not therefore fear science, but welcomes it. I know of no man so hungry for facts. All his life he has kept up, so far as possible, with the advances of physiological science. On his return from Europe he brought the details of Ferrier's confirmation of Hitzig's experiments on the brain, and thus indirectly inspired the first studies on that subject among the physiologists on this side of the Atlantic.

2. He was the first among religious apologists to recognize that the battle-ground of religion and science is in the brain and nervous system. He early saw that the storm of conflict between naturalism and supernaturalism must sweep by—indeed had already swept by—astronomy and geology, and physics and general physiology, and must hurl itself with desperate energy on the centres of thought and life. The general fact of the rule of law in the movements of the stars, the evolution of the earth and the interactions of forces had been substantially carried for naturalism, and the question was whether naturalism would also carry the phenomena of life and mind. The human brain then is the last stand of religion; around this "strategic" point the distracted forces of religion and science must, sooner or later, concentrate. Before this citadel of mind Mr. Cook, boldly and alone, took his stand, and defends and proposes to hold it against all the attacks of naturalism. His position is that the facts of life and mind cannot be explained by known laws of Nature; spontaneous generation never has been proved; the chasm between the living and non-living has never been bridged; hence there must be a soul in man and possibly in animals.

3. He accepts the logical conclusions of his own reasonings.

It has been the traditional habit with apologists to take their followers through straight and narrow paths of logic a limited distance only, and then to suddenly disappear; starting out boldly, as though sure of marching directly to the journey's end—the fork in the road where science and religion come together—they

sooner or later get frightened and take refuge in the woods, leaving us to wander on alone without guidance, or to find our way back as best we can. Neither the opponents of the Tubingen school in Germany nor the authors of the Bampton lectures in England ever reach the fork in the road; they do not all leave together nor at one point, but they all leave us—and long before we get in sight of the goal; but Mr. Cook never retreats nor dodges, nor even halts, but marches straight in the middle of the road, whether any dare follow him or not. When the arrows of opponents fly thick and fast, and the way seems blind and overgrown, because so little trodden, he does not ask the aid of the emotions nor of sentiment, but calls reason to the front, and tries to give a little better than he takes and to make the highway safe and clear.

It is now beginning to be slowly understood among the few cerebro-physiologists who have studied the subject, that Spiritualism, ancient and modern, rests on three legs—trance, trickery, and human testimony; but Mr. Cook's views of the principles of evidence, in which he is sustained by all the best writers on logic and apologetics from Aristotle and Bacon to Hamilton and Greenleaf, compel him to admit that there may be something genuine behind all these claims, and he has the almost unprecedented courage, considering his position and the present unpopularity of Spiritualism, to publicly say so. His reasoning makes the immortality of animals possible, if not probable, or inevitable, and that concession he clearly, though cautiously, makes. His whole philosophy is built upon a denial of spontaneous generation, but so true is he to the demands of logic that if spontaneous generation were proved he would, I have no doubt, abandon a part of his philosophy. On this side, however, he is quite safe, since, on account of the limitations of the human senses, spontaneous generation never can be scientifically proved.

### OBJECTIONS TO MR. COOK'S PHILOSOPHY.

To the philosophy of Mr. Cook, that religion can be scientifically proved, there may be offered these three objections, which I give in order of climax:—

1. It may be claimed that although the solution of the mystery of life has not yet been accomplished, it may be accomplished in the higher science of the future. Biology may find its Newton who, by methods that the mind cannot now imagine any more than the ancients could imagine the mathematical and physical calculations of the moderns, shall extend the empire of natural law to the force that moves the bioplasm. Such is the present dream of science; will it be always a dream?

But even if what we call mind shall not be proved to be the same with what we call matter, must not his argument always remain as a negative rather than positive sort, of incomplete exclusion rather than of positive inclusion? Proof by exclusion is only possible when we know beforehand that a result must arise from one of a certain number of causes, and after we exclude all but one; but we do not know beforehand that mind and life must result either from known physical laws or from the supernatural, for that is the very question to be answered. The exclusion of known laws which Mr. Cook demonstrates with a vividness, a picturesqueness, and a splendour of language that has no parallel in scientific or theological literature, does not, therefore, prove scientifically the supernatural cause; for he has not, and cannot, exclude unknown and inconceivable natural law. We may say that he makes the hypothesis of a soul possible if not probable; but possibility is not science, probability is not science. Science knows no compromise; science is knowledge; *scire* means to know. Can the hypothesis of a soul be scientifically proved with our present or conceivable knowledge of the physiology of the brain?

2. It may be claimed that the premises of logic, especially those that are based on human testimony, as taught by all the authorities on reasoning, both in science and law, are in an utterly chaotic state, without form or system, blind, bungling, empirical, and inconsistent rules, which in the near or distant future must and will be radically reconstructed. Mr. Mozley, in the preface to the third edition of his "Bampton Lectures," admits that we have no standard of evidence, no common platform on which the friends and opponents of miracles can stand and fairly fight out their

battles. What is good evidence to one is bad to another. Thus the miracle controversy is brought to a standstill.

Human testimony comes from the human brain, as all will allow. Is not our knowledge of the human brain, as obtained through inductive and deductive reasoning, now sufficient to at least begin the reconstruction of the principles of evidence? Human testimony is the key-stone of the arch of a part, though not of all, of Mr. Cook's philosophy. After the subject of human testimony has been reduced to a science, will that key-stone be found there fast and strong?

3. Is it possible to prove scientifically the supernatural?

How can we prove the supernatural without first exhaustively knowing the natural? Who knows the natural? What expert claims to know Nature even in his department? What, indeed, is all our knowledge but an infinitesimal fraction of our ignorance, a flower so plucked from a boundless garden; a few ores dug from a measureless mine; a slight clearing in an infinite wilderness; "a film on the ocean of the unknown?" How is it possible for the human mind, in its best development of expert skill, to distinguish, in a scientific sense, between what is above Nature and what is unknown in Nature? If, to go to the outermost verge of conceivability for illustration, the clock of the universe were turned back to-morrow and the sun should thereafter rise in the West instead of the East, how would it be possible to prove scientifically that a supernatural event had occurred?

Suggestions of this kind go to the foundations of human knowledge, but, as Mr. Cook is devoting himself to the speciality of bridging over the chasm between science and religion, it is necessary to have the abutments on both sides built upon the bed-rock. We want a bridge that will be safe to cross, not only for ourselves alone, but for our children, and our children's children. The twentieth century, rigid and remorseless, stands waiting, with the guillotine at hand; how many of our favourite theories in science or religion shall it spare? And just here we might offer the query —which cannot be discussed in detail—whether the automatic action of the brain, which we call the instinct, and which is usually so far in advance of and nearer to the throne of truth than the

volitional action, which we call reason, may not have been practically, if not philosophically, wise in assigning religion under every form and phase to the realm of feeling, whether perhaps Plato was not right in his suggestion that there was something of impiety in inquiring too curiously into the world and the first causes of things; whether Tacitus was not right when he declares that "it is more holy and reverent to believe the works of God than to know them;" whether St. Augustine was not right in his confession, "Melius scitur, Deus, nesciendo"—"God is better known by not knowing him."

## ERRORS CONCERNING MR. COOK'S PHILOSOPHY.

Two or three errors in regard to Mr. Cook's position may be here corrected. He is denied the right to make a specialty of the relations of science to religion. Not being an authority in the recognized special departments of science, it is claimed that he has no right to use the labours of other various experts. Founders of specialties always have this trouble; they are warned off, as though treading on territory to which they have no claim. Mr. Cook is a specialist, and he has the same right to his specialty that any specialist has in any other department. If Mr. Cook cultivates this new field with proper thoroughness he thereby acquires a title to this specialty, as Herbert Spencer has acquired a title to the specialty in philosophy of evolution. If these gentlemen—the one out of deference to evolution, the other out of deference to religion—suffer themselves to see what does not exist, or blind themselves to what does exist, or twist or maim, or try to crush the facts of science, or reason wrongfully from them, then so far forth they are non-experts—or partial experts—and must give way to the higher experts of the future. The task to which Mr. Cook has set himself—the reconcilement of modern science and modern orthodox theology—is one of the greatest ever conceived; perhaps, for reasons I have suggested, too great for the human mind, and he may fail in it; but it is better to fail in such an enterprise than to succeed in many of the tasks to which

all great men give their lives. The best things in this world come by indirection; the indirect influence for good of Mr. Cook's lectures and writings must be very extensive. It is furthermore said that Mr. Cook misrepresents modern science. This criticism is made mostly by those who do not read all his books, or judge by the original reports at the beginning of the series, or by floating fragments in the papers, or by general hearsay, or very likely by those who themselves know little of science, or, at least, are not versed on all sides of his subjects. Poetry in a scientific sense is untruth; and Mr. Cook's lectures are poems. His poetic and rhetorical passages, taken alone, misrepresent himself even more than they misrepresent science. Mr. Cook is an evolutionist, but any one reading his quotation from Carlyle's letter on Darwin, with his accompanying remarks, or perhaps other passages in his work, would judge him to be hostile to evolution. It is not scientific to judge of the value of the Boston Monday Lectures by detached passages. He has made mistakes, both of a positive and negative sort, and has sought—rather than shunned—criticism therefor; the precious instruction to be got from blunders, of which Carlyle speaks, he has profited by and will continue to profit by in time to come. "Criticise mercilessly all errors of fact as well as of inference," was the request he once made to a scientific man who had publicly reviewed his early lectures. This is not the language of a man who is afraid of science. "If you ever find me wrong, correct me," is the request that I have known him to make of different individuals, again, and again, and again. Indeed, Mr. Cook has attained his present position by acting, perhaps unconsciously, on the advice of Montaigne, "He who would cure ignorance must confess it." It was impossible, almost, for one to traverse so wide and various a territory as he has in his lectures, including metaphysics, biology and physiology, without occasionally stumbling; but his work, as it now stands, after many and careful revisions, represents fairly the present state of science on the subject of which he treats—of the very latest and best researches. Indeed, to inquirers who will read all of his work, and not part of, and who are sufficiently endowed with the scientific sense to separate the philosophical reasonings from the facts on which the reason-

ings are based, will find therein the clearest and most compact statement of the theories and difficulties of evolution, of the movements of bioplasm, and of physiological experiments on decapitated animals, and on the electrical irritation of the brain that appear in popular literature.

It is a delicious novelty in religious controversy to hear rationalism opposed by one who fully knows what modern rationalism really is, who describes the desert of so-called unbelief not as a far-off and terrible region in which we read lost travellers had wandered and perished, none surviving to tell the tale, but as one through which he himself has passed, who has been scorched by its burning heats, blinded by its sand storms, cheated by its mirages, and tempted by its oasis, and who, with equal confidence, can point the way out and the way in. Very few anti-supernaturalists, whether classed as Comtists, Spencerians, Agnostics, Parkerites, Free Religionists, Liberals, Transcendentalists, Pantheists, Materialists, or Humanists, are as well grounded in both the literature and science of anti-supernaturalism, in all ancient and recent phases, as Mr. Cook. A number of years ago, before he was generally known, the following anecdote with regard to him was floating about Andover. He was preaching in Abington, a town near Boston, in a time of much religious interest. At one of the meetings a young man arose and asked Mr. Cook what he could say to a certain argument of Tom Paine. Mr. Cook turned toward the questioner, and in an emphatic manner asked him, "Have you read so and so of Tom Paine?" "No, sir," replied the young man. "Have you read so and so of Tom Paine?" "No, sir." "Have you read so and so of Tom Paine?" The young man was again obliged to confess his ignorance. "I have read all those books," said Mr. Cook. "You know nothing about Tom Paine. Go home and read him, and after you know what he has written I will discuss the matter with you."

An analysis of Mr. Cook which should omit mention of his moral qualities would be both psychologically and practically imperfect, for in the family of faculties that dwell in the human brain all are members, one of another; the activity of each exalting or depress-

ing the activity of all. In speaking of Mr. Cook's intellect we forget that he has a heart; in speaking of his heart we forget that he has an intellect. His large native benevolence not only makes his friendship a precious and incomparable treasure, but reacts on all the operations of his mind, mollifying severity, tempering sarcasm, sweetening the acerbities of controversy, giving grace and mildness to the iron necessities of logic, and making us almost willing to accept his conclusions out of compliment to the goodness of the man. His lectures, thus bathed in an atmosphere of kindness, through which they constantly appeal to the reason rather than to sentiment, could not fail to be popular as they are with the most radical opponents of his philosophy. To the thoughtful mind there is a special and exquisite charm in having one's favourite theories at once so gorgeously and so genially combated.

The religious world needs no urging to listen to Mr. Cook; but to the so-called rationalists, or materialists, or anti-supernaturalists, who constitute the larger part of our literary and scientific society, I may say that if through want of sympathy with his views they neglect to hear him, they will deprive themselves of a rare intellectual pleasure, the like of which, in some respects, has never before been offered to our citizens.

# THE PRELUDE.

## New Departures in and from Orthodoxy.

What are the opinions of a God who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever as to new departures in regard to truths fundamental in religion? His opinions ought to be ours. There are a few self-evident religious truths as unchangeable as the very nature of things. It has no variableness nor shadow of turning. It is He. I believe as thoroughly as that I exist that, in the very nature of things, every man must be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it in order to have harmonization with his environment by the infinite holiness of the moral law. Call hither Chunder Sen from the bank of the Ganges, Herbert Spencer from the Thames, the soul of Gambetta from the Seine—I care not what agnostic or what cultured Pagan theist—and we shall all be agreed that deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it are essential to our peace with the moral law. We are not agreed as to whether there is a personal God behind the moral law, or whether the Atonement is necessary to deliver us from the guilt of sin, or whether it is only by the sight of an atonement that we are so melted as to be brought into the new birth and delivered from the love of sin; but, on the two most fundamental points of what I love to call axiomatic theology, or the religion of self-evident truth, all serious men who believe in a moral law may be brought to an acceptance of a cosmopolitan faith. I confess I have some ambition to advance such a faith, and to hold as the basis of my own creed convictions acceptable

to all thinking men throughout the world and in every age. As Christians, we believe that it is only by the new birth and by the Atonement that we can be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it. We are profoundly convinced that, when we are delivered from the love of sin, we are not thereby delivered from the guilt of it. We believe that it is only the sight of God's face in Christ that effectually melts the heart and produces regeneration. What we, therefore, wish to do for the world is to lift up before it the cross, because we find that when we see the cross it is no cross to bear the cross. Beholding God as a Redeemer makes us glad to take him as Lord, and thus Christianity provides for our deliverance from the guilt of sin and the love of it.

This deliverance is the desire of all nations. On the basis of the cosmopolitan truths of axiomatic theology I have been standing everywhere in my work on the long war-path around the planet. I have found that the serious heart of the nations wants this double deliverance; that it does not find it in any human creed, and that it finds it swiftly in Christianity, when the Gospel is presented in clear, devout, scholarly, aggressive, undiluted form. Coming home, I find that in the rear of the host of the Christian forces in the world there is here and there a call for new departures. For one, I repudiate departures from fundamentals. I repudiate departures from even doctrines that look like unessentials if these apparent unessentials touch fundamentals.

My object in this opening address is to set before you as clearly as I can what the standard orthodoxy of New England teaches as to probation after death and, next, what the so-called new departure teaches. In a subsequent prelude I shall discuss exegetically the question: "Does death end probation?" Here and now I am anxious only that you should compare, in broad outlines, the

old and the new. I am in favour of the new. One of my central principles is to seize the new, the true, the strategic, and force it into practical application to current affairs. I am ready, I hope, in life and in death, to grasp the new, if it be better than the old; otherwise not.

Professor Dorner, whom I revere for the larger part of the work he has done in German theology, holds doctrines concerning the last things that I regard as exceedingly nebulous, erratic, unscientific and anti-scriptural. His doctrines I summarize here and I will put them in contrast with those I have received from New England Orthodoxy. I raise the question, New England Orthodoxy or German State Church theology; which? Park or Dorner, which? That is a question of the hour and it is really one of world-wide interest, because this topic touches missions. It touches all Christian aggressiveness throughout the earth. On this theme Germany, England, Scotland, India, Japan, Australasia, as well as our own land, may be expected to listen.

Here, then, is the outline of what I, for one, not claiming to represent others, hold as orthodoxy:

1. God is immanent in the moral nature of every man, and whoever permanently rejects or accepts the innermost voice of conscience, rejects or accepts the essential Christ.

2. Every free moral agent, therefore, has opportunity to accept or reject the essential Christ. Remember that this lectureship is not tritheistic, although it is trinitarian. Scholars on this platform do not believe in three Gods, but in one God. They do not divide His substance, although they do not unify His subsistencies. I would recall here whatever has been said in the past of this lectureship concerning conscience as a revelation in man of truths essentially supernatural.

3. Heathen, therefore, as their consciences reveal to them the essential condition of salvation, so far as it

depends on man, have a probation as protracted and multiplex as their choices to obey or disobey conscience. "In every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteous is accepted with Him." "The kingdom of Heaven is within us." "They that sin without law shall perish without law." The heathen, "having not the law, are a law unto themselves, their consciences bearing witness and their thoughts accusing or else excusing one another."

4. It is through the Divine Mercy, as exhibited in an atonement, that the heathen are saved, if at all, without hearing of the historical Christ. They who fear God and work righteousness have *holy faith*, and this would develop into historical *saving faith* on the presentation of evidence. Plato or Socrates, if saved, was saved by the atonement, God's mercy covering their guilt for Christ's sake. So infants know nothing of the historical Christ and yet are saved by the atonement, God's arm under-girding them in the darkness.

5. Human nature is such, however, that only a few among millions do accept the essential Christ of conscience.

6. A knowledge of the character, life, and death of the historic Christ must, therefore, be carried to the heathen, and to the whole world.

7. This formal presentation of the historic Christ immensely increases human responsibility, and also, as the history of the Christian ages shows, the force of the motives which deliver men from the love of sin.

8. It is self-evident that men must be delivered both from the love of sin and from the guilt of it, in order to have peace in presence of infinite holiness.

9. Christianity, and it only of all the religions of the earth, teaches how deliverance from the love of sin may be effected by the new birth and from the guilt of sin

through an atonement, without the violation of any self-evident truth.

10. It is the sight of an atonement which is the chief force in producing the new birth. Beholding God as a historic Saviour makes us glad to take Him as Lord, and, therefore, the preaching of the Gospel to all the world is the supreme work of those who would deliver the world from the love of sin and the guilt of it.

11. Every man who is a free agent and has a conscience has a fair chance in this life to accept or reject the essential Christ.

Do not say that I am supposing a man is saved by his good works. Do not say that I teach that accepting the guidance of God in conscience is, for a man in the condition of any one in this audience, a sufficient proof of his loyalty to God. Do not say that I teach that man saves himself. I speak here only of those to whom no presentation of the historic Christ has been made, but whose consciences alone, according to both Scripture and Science, are a Divine Guide to the Way of Peace.

12. Every man who, in addition to these opportunities, is taught the Gospel of the historical Christ in his life has more than a fair chance.

13. Infants, idiots, lunatics are not moral agents; they have not sinned. (I am not denying the doctrine of original sin or inherited evil propensity. I am using the word "sin" in its strict sense, as indicating evil personal choice.) The least we can say of infants, idiots and lunatics is that they are in the hands of the Judge of all the earth, who will avowedly do right. They have no record of sin behind them, and the Divine Mercy enfolds them. As they have not learned the evils of sin, it is to be hoped that in death at the sight of God's face they will acquire entire harmony of soul with Him.

14. Probation in its strict sense ends at death. Ortho-

dox theology teaches that even the lost souls of the universe are free agents. They retain ability, but have lost willingness to repent. If a soul is not a free agent it cannot be virtuous or vicious. I suppose that in one sense probation continues for ever with all souls. But in the strict sense probation means a state in which souls do, and not merely may, change from an undecided to a decided condition of loyalty or disloyalty to God. Orthodoxy teaches that these changes occur only in this life.

15. Every responsible human being, by the gift of a free will and conscience, or by this gift and that of the knowledge of the Gospel besides, having had a fair chance or more than a fair chance, the Divine love and mercy are not questionable; a perfect Theodicy is possible; the ways of God to men are justified.

Now, in contrast with this outline, I place a very swift sketch of the new departure, based chiefly on the state church theology of Germany, or, rather, on the eschatology of Dorner.

1. An acceptance or rejection of the historic Christ is necessary in every case to salvation or its opposite.

2. Decisive probation consists in the opportunity of the soul freely and intelligently to accept or reject the historic Christ.

3. Those who die without a knowledge of the Gospel have not had a full and fair probation.

4. Infants, idiots, lunatics, and some heathen have evidently no opportunity in this life to accept or reject the historic Christ; for they know nothing of Him; therefore,

5. As these classes have no decisive probation here, it is permissible to hope that they have one hereafter.

6. In the intermediate state, between death and the general judgment, probation may continue for souls to

whom a presentation of the historic Christ was not made in this life.

7. These views offer a better theodicy—that is, a more complete justification of the ways of God to man than the accepted and standard teaching of orthodoxy.

I beg any friends of the new departure who are present to notice that I am very careful not to exaggerate the breadth of the departure. I do not say that the apologists for these divisive novelties teach that it is permissible to inculcate as a biblical dogma that certain classes of souls must have a probation hereafter, and that, if they do not, no justification of the ways of God to men is possible. They do say that it is "permissible to hope" that such probation lies in the intermediate state, and that we must insist on this hope if we are to cherish worthy ideas of the divine character.

Where does Dorner teach what these seven propositions contain? In a score of passages of his Systematic Theology, especially in the section on Eschatology, which I beg you to examine, if you are in doubt as to the source from which several recent American suggestions as to new theological departures have been derived.* Here is a characteristic passage from Dorner: "The absoluteness of Christianity demands that no one be judged before Christianity has been made accessible and brought home to him; but this is not the case in this life with millions of human beings. Nay, even within the Church there are periods and circles where the Gospel does not really approach men as that which it is. Moreover, those dying in childhood have not been able to decide personally for Christianity. Jesus seeks the lost. The lost are to be sought also in the kingdom of the dead. The opposite view leads to an absolute decree of rejection in reference to all who

* See Dorner's "Christian Doctrine," vol. iv. pp. 373-434 (published by T. & T. Clark); also *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1882, pp. 751-773.

have died and die as heathen; whereas Christian grace is universal." ("System of Christian Doctrine," vol. iv. p. 409.)

Who that has learned what a scholarly orthodoxy really teaches does not see at a glance that these propositions are inaccurate, confused, misleading, and, to an appalling degree, spiritually hazardous?

1. The new departure begins with a most atrociously incorrect statement concerning the essential condition of salvation.

2. It gives a false definition of what constitutes a full and fair probation.

3. A first blunder leads to a second, and then a third is made to cover the second, and a fourth to cover the third. An inaccurate statement peculiar to many state-church theologies as to the essential condition of salvation leads to a difficulty in vindicating the divine justice. In view of this difficulty, which ought never to have existed, the theory of a continued probation is adopted as a means of escape. Here, as elsewhere, orthodoxy begins right and ends right in its fundamental courses of thought, while heterodoxy begins wrong and ends wrong.

4. This series of propositions underrates what is scientifically known in our days as to the natural operations of conscience. It is hugely unscientific to suppose that, even without a knowledge of the historic Christ, a soul may not so disobey conscience as to drop into a condition of moral obduracy and end in a final permanence of character dissimilar to that of God.

This audience is, or ought to be, familiar with the mighty truths of axiomatic theology, that all souls tend to a final permanence of character, good or bad, and that, in the very nature of the case, a final permanence can come but once.

5. I understand Dorner to deny that there is any sin

that can ruin the soul, except a rejection of the historic Christ, proclaimed in the name of the miracles of the New Testament. Evidence, of course, must go with the proclamation, and, if such evidence cannot be brought decisively home to the soul here, it will be brought in the next world. I regard this as a mediæval doctrine. It is almost as bad as the teaching that only those who are baptized can be saved. Our fathers had much discussion over the doctrine of decrees; and, indeed, it is a wonder that we do not have more, for whoever looks into the mighty themes of a theodicy must regard election, decrees, foreordination, free-will, fate, these matters concerning which the angels debated in Milton's "Paradise Lost" as really supreme topics of philosophy as well as of religious science. Our heads are absorbed in other matters, otherwise we should be awake, as our fathers were, to the great problems involved in election. This doctrine of Dorner's seems to me almost as atrocious as the worst form of the old doctrine concerning decrees. And as to the salvation of elect infants only, scholarship has passed by this doctrine a long while, and the new departure is really a reversion to a mediæval form of theological speculation. I assail, therefore, this first proposition of what I understand to be the German State Church theology of the present hour, as reversionary and as oblivious of the keenest discussions in theology in modern times.

6. It is spiritually hazardous, in an appalling degree, to give, as Dorner does, such definitions of what a full and decisive probation is that few men will think they have had a fair chance, and then to promise, on most easy and liberal conditions, a continued probation.

But, you say: "You are speaking with implied irreverence for German scholarship, and this platform has not been accustomed to that tone." You never heard me speak of German theology in its relations to the mass of

the people as other than inferior to New England Orthodoxy. Our churches are as superior to the German in their aggressive power, in the preachableness of their doctrines as German learning in matters of philosophical and scientific import, is superior to ours. The German universities are better than ours; but our churches are better than the German. Our preaching is better than theirs. Why, Professor Christlieb, with whom I have had, within a few months, at least fifteen hours' conversation on the banks of the Rhine, has assailed the German State Church theology for just the things that are copied out of it, as I suppose, by some of the friends of the new departure. I am careful to say, however, that *I discuss Dorner's views only, and not those of any preacher or theologian here.* Christlieb teaches the new birth and atonement. He insists that we must be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it. And what do the State Church preachers say, in reply? "*Bei uns ist es nicht so!*" "With us there is no such preaching. Why be perpetually disturbing the churches with the doctrine of the new birth and with assertions of the vicarious nature of the atonement? Our convictions are that whoever lives about right will come out right, and, if there be no decisive probation here, there will be one hereafter."

This idea that decisive probation consists always and only in the free, intelligent rejection of the historic Christ cannot be opposed without great danger. I run enormous risks in attacking it here to-day, for I shall be quoted as saying that I do not believe that Christ is the author of our salvation. I shall be quoted as saying that whoever follows his conscience is safe, whether he believes in Christ or not. My friends, you understand me too well, I hope, to be misled by any such random assertions of people who are not in this assembly from week to week and year to year. Our salvation is wrought through

Christ and through Him only. If I were not a believer in the historic Christ, I could find in philosophy no peace for my soul, for I think I know, as well as that I am alive, that I must be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it, and that when I am delivered from the love of it I am not from the guilt of it. I want an atonement. I want the sight of the cross to melt me and produce in my soul the new birth. Without the cross, philosophy is to me a Gehenna for the soul, because it shows that of all creatures we are the most miserable. We have sinned; the record is against us in the past; but there is no remedy for our guilt. In practice only they who perceive that God is inconceivably merciful and that He is ready to cover our guilt with an atonement, come into affectionate, total, irreversible loyalty to Him. To take God as Saviour and choose Him as Lord, this is faith; this is what makes a man faithful. If Christianity is not to be given us as the basis of hope for deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it, I have no hope of such deliverance. Nevertheless, I hold what I conceive to be the biblical doctrine; that, if there be a Cornelius who fears God and works righteousness, he is accepted of God through an atonement. I preach that they who sin without law shall perish without law. I insist upon it that the biblical doctrine as I have outlined it is broader and more scientific than this reversionary proposition, on the absurdity of which I insist with emphasis, and yet with bated breath, lest I be misunderstood.

7. In practical effect, the distorted orthodoxy here opposed has always immensely injured all churches that have adopted it. The great German missionary, Duff, said the life of the German churches can be described in one word —petrifaction. This is not true of all of them, for there are many vigorous evangelical churches in Germany; but, so far as Dorner's eschatology, so far as this idea of pro-

bation after death has been brought into working influence over great congregations, so far as it has been assimilated into the life of the masses of the people, it has destroyed Christian aggressiveness in a great degree. It has lowered the tone of preaching. It has cut the nerve of missions. It has as good as scuttled the ships that carry the glad tidings of the Gospel to pagan lands. I have no lamp to guide my feet, but that of experience.

I am not a partisan in theology. I dare say this before you, in spite of the frank words it has been my duty to utter on this platform. I have great reverence for many who admire this German state-Church theology; but while I respect them as men, I do not agree to follow them as theological leaders. I believe we have better leadership at home on this matter than we can obtain at present in Germany. I think that they who follow Dorner's eschatology and reject average New England, Scottish, and even Anglican teaching on this topic of probation after death are like men who go abroad to see the Alps and the Himalayas, the Nile and the Ganges, and have never seen the American Great Lakes, the Yosemite, and Niagara. We have discussed this topic of probation, probably more thoroughly in New England than it was ever discussed in Germany. I believe New England theology has now a right to stand upon its record of scholarly discussions and rise to its full height of self-respect and earnestness, and lead the world into biblical views on these colossal themes. There never was open to it a better opportunity for such service. Scotch theology is preoccupied at this moment with questions of Old Testament criticism; English theology is having its attention distracted by the swift advance of great problems connected with disestablishment. Materialism is occupying the attention of many abroad. Agnosticism, historic scepticism are matters of more present importance than this new departure. But with us there

seems to be a providential call for the discussion of eschatology.

I have no right to give advice to anybody, but what I propose to do, for one, is to claim liberty for scholarly and advanced views whenever mediæval and reversionary views try to throttle them. You say that the men who hold the doctrines of the new departure do not preach them. But, if they hold these doctrines they do not preach the orthodox ones. And just as a man may be choked by holding a little heresy, so a whole church may be choked by one section of it looking exceedingly grave, perhaps indignant, if the other section preaches orthodoxy without dilution. I will not say that I would have every church-member who holds these views of Dorner turned out of his connections; but I would have every candidate for a preacher's position very candidly examined on this matter. I think I may venture to say that it is safe to accord with Andover and Boston in the proposition that a man who definitely champions Dorner's theology is not precisely the person to teach our young men theological science. This audience represents Evangelical Christendom. You are not Congregationalists merely, and I beg your pardon for touching on the troubles of the small denomination to which it is my fortune to belong. I have been speaking so long for all the evangelical denominations that I hardly know whether I am a Congregationalist, or a Methodist, or a Baptist, or an Episcopalian, or a Presbyterian. The real truth is that the foundation of Congregationalism is Plymouth Rock, and that this rock is not disintegrating nor splitting. A little dust is being blown off it, but it never belonged to the rock.

## LECTURE.

### I.

In the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, of Rome, Michael Angelo has represented the creation of man, and the picture exhibits a divine form floating in infinite space and extending a hand toward the upraised hand of Adam. The man lies almost prone upon the earth. He is a body, but not yet a soul, and, although the members of his form are complete, symmetrical, majestic, they do not yet feel their unity with each other. A spark passes from the divine forefinger to the suppliant, limp, passive hand of man, and the different members of his form are unified by the soul. This picture is, to me, a proper emblem of the present condition of the world. The nations are the different members of the body of humanity, and yet they are not unified by a common soul. What is lacking is a cosmopolitan faith, a divine spark, making the innermost convictions of the nations the same on all high themes. As I study the signs of the heavens and the earth, the uplifted suppliant hand of humanity, a body not yet thoroughly vitalized is being approached by a form loftier than the stars. A Divine hand is being extended towards our race, nay, has been extended for thousands of years, but in these last ages is becoming more distinctly visible than ever before. I anticipate the passage from the divine hand to the form of humanity, not yet unified, of a spark, a faith, a series of scientific convictions concerning things natural and supernatural that will make the world one. This spark will be, of course, Christianity,

and in its historic form ; and with it will come much of science, for God is one and all truth is one. A scientific supernaturalism is a phrase by which I like to describe the unified teachings of Christianity and science. And it is this on the passage of which from God's finger to man's I look with awe, as the greatest thing I have seen in my tour around the world, and the greatest thing I can promote by any review of my experience.

I am attached to every country in which I have found men struggling toward the light. My heart is on the Ganges ; it is on the Thames ; it is in the great cities within the shadow of Fujisan ; it is in the islands of the sea ; it is under the Southern Cross. But my heart, although there, is here, too, for we are a part of this dull, lethargic body, not yet filled by the Divine electric force. As the growth of civilization brings us into contact with the ends of the earth, we should feel that we cannot cut ourselves off from the other side of the globe, that humanity is a unit, commercially, scientifically, socially, industrially almost politically to-day. In our time there are no foreign lands. Communication is so swift between country and country that no shores are distant. There can be no hermit nations ; no people can live behind a screen. The mental seclusion of false faiths must be broken up. The light of the Occident cannot be hidden from the Orient. A spiritual unity is coming to the whole human family and I would have the head feel its responsibility ; and the Occident is the head of the earth and the hands of it. Nearest to God, let us transmit the spark of scientific supernaturalism into civilization of the whole planet and so make its reclining form stand upon its feet and worship God.

So much for the proem of a series of twelve lectures on advanced thought in foreign lands. To take up now the special theme of this lecture, "Advanced Thought in England and Scotland," you will allow me once for all to

beg your indulgence as to personal allusions. When I say "you" I mean myself.

### Leaving America.

It is the morning of September 7, 1880, and you are in New York harbour, leaving your native country on the day when it is announced, officially, that it has 50,000,000 of inhabitants, The gray sky, the familiar shores, the untried experience before you, the parting from scores of friends around you, make the hour pathetic. You are wrenched at last from the firm mother earth; you have seen the last quivering, intense look of farewell on the faces of some who are nearest and dearest to you. You have made no predictions; you know not what is to be your experience; perhaps, you may be called home within a few months; you have promised no one that you will make the circuit of the globe. But you have a feeling that, possibly, you are looking for the last time on earth upon America. You lean over the gunwale with one dearer to you than life, and you repeat the words of a German poet:

> "Flow fair beside thy Palisades,
> O, Hudson, fair and free,
> Past proud Manhattan's shore of ships
> And green Hoboken's tree.
>
> "The white sails gleam along the main,
> God bless the land, say we;
> 'Tis a good land to fall in with
> And a pleasant land to see."

Crossing the Atlantic, you are most interested not in what is on it, nor in it, nor beyond it, but in what is under it. Scholars begin to whisper strange things about the lost Atlantis, of which the Azores are the remnants. You are told that Occident and Orient had their mother in this lost Atlantis. The civilization of Egypt

seems to spring into existence, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, full panoplied from the start. But you find that a few investigators begin to dream that Egypt was probably colonized from Atlantis, a mighty island, as large as Australia, lying off the mouth of the Mediterranean, at Gibraltar. You read in Plato of Atlantis colonizing not merely Europe, but Africa and portions of Asia and parts of the continent beyond Atlantis, toward the sunset. You raise the question whether the cities of Central America, some of which to this day have the same names to a letter with certain cities in Asia Minor, may not have originated in this now submerged island. Plato represents Solon as learning in Egypt that Atlantis sank beneath the sea in a single night. (See the "Timæus," 25; or, Jowett's "Translation of the Dialogues of Plato," vol. iii., pp. 609, 610.) You remember that Guyot and other physical geographers say that the Azores lie in a zone of fracture of the crust of our earth. The small waist of our own continent, the projection into which the Mediterranean flows, the Isthmus of Suez, the promontories and islands of southern Asia and the East Indies, show this to have been a line of terrific upheavals and depressions. You look into the ocean, and ask whether the best subject left in modern times for an epic poem is not this same Atlantis. A few months later you are in Athens. You meet Dr. Schliemann, in his Greek mansion and museum, and you say to him: "You have uncovered Troy; why do you not dredge for the lost Atlantis, of which Plato speaks?" And the doctor replies, with the enthusiasm of a classical scholar: "Where is the passage in the 'Timæus?' I will read it before I sleep." A score of books (see "Atlantis; or, the Antediluvian World," by Ignatius Donelly, a volume valuable chiefly for its references) have lately appeared, defending the Atlantidean theory of the origin of that most curious civilization which

founded the cities of which the ruins remain to astonish us in Central America. Perhaps the unknown mound-builders of the Mississippi Valley were degenerate representatives of that civilization. Probably the Atlantidean theory has been supported so effectually by the discoveries of the ship *Challenger*, that, when put forward only as a theory, it will never be quite laughed at again. The ship *Challenger* has assured the world that a submerged continental island lies underneath the middle Atlantic. Strangely close resemblances are found to exist between the plant and animal life of the Azores and of the nearest coasts of Brazil. One speculation is that this mighty island went down when the windows of Heaven were opened and the fountains of the great deep were broken up in the time of the Deluge, and that the representative of the race, Noah, being carried with his family in the ark away from the scene of ruin, began the peopling of the valley of the Euphrates. The zone of fracture in the earth, the traditions of many nations as to the Deluge, point, it is claimed, to the sinking of Atlantis. I do not endorse this speculation, by any means, but you are crossing the Atlantic, and it is necessary that you should be not merely not sea-sick, but not sick of the sea. You are beginning a tour around the world, and I would have your historic vistas go back, not to Greece and Rome merely, not to those mysterious early seats of the Aryan population on the slopes from the Himalayas to the Caspian, not merely to the Nile or the Ganges. I would have the vista of your retrospect go back to the origin of the Egyptian civilization. Somewhere man must have been developed through ages into the use of lofty standards in most matters before the Egyptian civilization could have sprung forth. I believe it is not incredible at all that Orient and Occident had their mother in the lost Atlantis. England is the mother of America;

Germany and Scandinavia at large are the mother of England; Asia Minor is the mother of Germany; the Assyrian slope, between the Himalayas and the Caspian, is the mother of Asia Minor, and the mother, in some sense, of Greece and Italy; but the mother of that slope and of Egypt is, possibly, Atlantis, and the mother of Atlantis is Almighty Providence. Here, then, at the very outset of the voyage, we put a girdle around the earth and begin to perceive that all men are of one blood, as far east, at least, as Calcutta.

### Personal Experience.

You give courses of lectures under most fortunate circumstances in London, in Edinburgh, in Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Dublin, Belfast. You make, in the course of nine months, some 135 public appearances, and eight out of ten of your audiences are a great surprise to you in point of their quantity as well as of their quality. You feel that, perhaps, you are not entirely throwing away your life, because some of the publishers of London scatter your books around your path—thirteen different editions of them. Your chief usefulness is in harrowing in this spiritual seed. It is not scattered by any agency of yours. Nevertheless, you are, on the whole, grateful to them for giving you an opportunity to be heard through the printed page, as well as by the voice.

Your experience in this particular continues the same in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, and even in Shanghai and Yokohama, and under the Southern Cross, especially in Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, the most brilliant group of cities in the Southern Hemisphere. You find this sprinkled coating—for no other word will adequately describe the result of the activity of the publishers—

this covering of the furrowed earth with seed of various editions of your books, continuing to be a part of your outlook, and the chief source of your usefulness. You authorize a complete edition by a most reputable London publisher, but no protection can be had for it in the present state of international law as to copyright, and it is probably outsold by the unauthorized copies. You find that your feeble efforts in Boston have been followed by the efforts of distinguished men, and that, although some little discouragement may have been felt by the committee in charge of the efforts of these regal powers of the platform, the book which comes before the world as the result of their course of lectures goes around the earth. You are absent from a certain platform, but the men who occupy it while you are gone are heard to the ends of the world, and you buy under the Southern Cross English editions of their lectures. "A Calm View of Temperance" by a university chancellor turns out to be a calm before a storm. You read the reply of the prince of all living orators, Mr. Phillips, God bless him, and this answer, printed in the English editions side by side with the Calm View, swallows it as the rod of Moses swallowed the rods of the magicians.

### Advanced Thought Searched for.

Your object abroad is not so much to visit places as men. You wish to come close, if possible, to the leaders of thought. Your main purpose is to find out what advanced thought really is in the different nations you study. You are most interested in their religious and intellectual condition, their philosophical tendencies, their gradual approach to the divine hand from which must come the spark that is to unify humanity. How do you

find out what advanced thought is in a nation? In four ways:

1. By getting close enough to the readers of thought to hear their heart-beats; to examine, in some sense, their spiritual pulses; to find out on what they depend most in philosophy and faith.

2. By putting lists of questions to these thinkers on strategic points.

3. By noticing the unforced tendencies of educated young men.

4. By applying these tests in many different circles of opposite opinions.

You follow this plan in your tour around the planet. You go armed with long lists of questions as incisive and searching as you can possibly make them; and you put them right and left, sometimes in company and sometimes to individuals, on the land and on the sea. You are a typical New Englander in that you make it your mission to ask questions. Johnson said a traveller brings home what he carries; but it should be added that, if the traveller carries questions enough, he may bring home immensely more than the questions. Applying these tests, what do you find to be some of the traits of English and Scottish advanced thought?

### The Scientific Method.

1. Unflinching demand for the application of the scientific method—that is, of definition and induction to all subjects, however sacred.

If there be one thing written on the face of our age more clearly than any other, it is that all topics must be submitted to a most thorough scientific examination, whether we make new departures or adhere to old ideas.

We must revere the scientific spirit, whether it be radical or conservative in its outcome. You cannot live in England a week in the more cultured circles without feeling that you are a ninny, that you are a fool, if you do not believe in the scientific method in its application to the most sacred doctrines of religion and philosophy and art, as well as to politics and social science. Let us observe, let us define, let us draw inductive conclusions But what do you notice as the second trait of advanced thought of England?

2. British advanced thought believes in its frontal eye, but not in its coronal eye.

This is a defect of the English mind and of the American. When you reach India, in your tour of the globe, you will find people who believe in their coronal eye; who see God in an intuitive way, as Emerson did. There is very little of this in England, there is very little in Scotland; but I think there is more north of the Tweed than in England. The Scotch have an eye in the dome of their souls; but they have such an immense front window that they are chiefly occupied in gazing out of it. Rarely, except in periods of mighty religious fervour, do they look aloft through the dome. They have occasionally thus looked aloft to immense purpose in British religious history; but, in general, Scotchmen, Englishmen, and Americans believe in experience, observation, definition, induction, the scientific method, and nothing else. You notice this one of the defects of Anglo-Saxon advanced thought, that it sees with its front eye, and not with its top eye. Only clear ideas and spiritual purposes, both together, can lead us into safe opinions.

### Ridicule of Materialism.

3. It is a characteristic of the more cultured circles in

England, and especially in Scotland, to ridicule the vagueness, evasiveness, slatternliness, and untenableness of materialistic and diagnostic definitions of matter and life.

You cannot live in the more cultured circles of Great Britain a month without greatly diminishing your respect for agnosticism and materialism. Yes; but you say: "England is the home of agnosticism." So it is. "The chief defenders of materialism are in Great Britain." So they are; but I am profoundly convinced, after conversations with the leaders of philosophical thought in university centres and elsewhere in the British Islands, that really advanced thinking in England is fundamentally anti-materialistic anti-agnostic, and so really anti-Spencerian. You are sitting one day in Edinburgh, with a company of learned men, at table at dinner, and one of them says Herbert Spencer cannot read German. You think that must be a mistake, and turn to Professor Calderwood, and say: "Is it true? That is a strange assertion." "I have always understood it to be the truth." You ask the views of the whole company, and find that not a man doubts the assertion. Agnosticism, as represented by Spencer, has a very poor following north of the Tweed. You are in the study of Lionel Beale one day in London, Herbert Spencer's home, and he says: "That man's books contain so much false physiology that they will not be read ten years after his death, except as literary curiosities." And Lionel Beale is supposed to know something of physiology. You are afterward in Germany, and you find that Herbert Spencer is regarded as a bright man, indeed; but by no means as a leader of modern philosophical thought, In short, as compared with Herman Lotze, you hear Herbert Spencer called a charlatan. It pains you not a little to find that your own country has large circles that follow him so loyally. It pains you to find that there is a British materialistic school. One

day you express this view in company to professors of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and one of them turns upon you somewhat sternly and says: "There is no British materialistic school. Britain includes Scotland and England. There is no Scotch materialistic school. There is no English materialistic school. If there is any materialistic school in these islands, it is a London and a Cockney materialistic school." This is Professor Tait, of Edinburgh. You hear the same sentiment expressed by Professor Veitch, of Glasgow, the biographer, of Sir William Hamilton. But there is an Alexander Bain in Scotland, who defines matter, in the agnostic Spencerian way, as "a double-faced somewhat, physical on one side and spiritual on the other." You ask Lionel Beale what he thinks of this definition, and he says: "It is obvious nonsense." You quote that opinion to Professor Veitch or to a dozen others whom I will not have the pedantry to name, and you will find them all repudiating this central keystone of modern materialistic theories. I have been called a charlatan by Mr. Fiske, of Cambridge, for repudiating, in the name of clear ideas, the central tenets of the Spencerian philosophy. I will not call him a charlatan. He is the echo of a charlatan. He may be a man of vigour, but in philosophy he is in a Serbonian bog, and the more he struggles the more deeply he sinks. Give me the recent volume of Professor Bowne, of Boston University, a pupil of Lotze, rather than the work of any pupil of Herbert Spencer, who is not spoken of with profound intellectual respect in the circles of the most advanced thought with which I have acquaintance in the Old World.

Do not misunderstand me. This man has immense influence abroad. His scheme of thought is applied to all classes of subjects by a certain arrogant and noisy school of writers. But I am distinguishing between

thought advanced enough to be really first class and that which is not more than third or fourth or fifth class.

### Sphere of Natural Law.

4. The conviction that we must upset natural law and teach, not that the universe is governed by law, but only that it is governed according to law, is one of the profoundest scientific inspirations which British advanced thought offers to a lofty life.

You are conversing with Lionel Beale in the manner once common in the days of George Combe and not yet outgrown. "Is it not fortunate," you say, "that this age knows so much of natural law? Ought we not to congratulate ourselves that humanity is coming to some real knowledge of the natural laws of the universe and to a certain loyalty to them?" "Yes," answers this great physiologist; "but what we need most is somebody to upset natural law." What does he mean? Somebody to show that natural law, without God's will behind it, is nothing more in itself than a glove without a hand within it; somebody to prove that God is omnipresent in all natural forces; and that, as matter cannot move itself, all force must originate outside of matter; that is, from an omnipresent, infinite will. This was the doctrine of your own Professor Peirce, the greatest American mathematician. Precisely this is what is held by Dr. Carpenter, who lately honoured this city by a course of lectures and this platform by a magnificent address.

5. Advanced thought in England insists on what Carlyle calls natural supernaturalism.

I was amazed to find so little disturbance in the higher circles by agnosticism and materialism. Carlyle represents really advanced thought in this matter. I admit there is enough of the literature of agnosticism abroad;

but, as an editor of a fortnightly review said, not long since, the articles the agnostics publish are more in the style of military ostentation than of earnest battle.

The agnostics and the materialists keep their forces behind the hill of London journalism, and march them around and around the hill, and you think there is an immense army of them, for you never see the end. Many of our young editors here, a great number of smatterers in philosophy among literary men, hosts of graduates of our universities, who have not mastered philosophy, think that the chief sign of the times is the marching of this little army around the top of the London height. It is visible to the eyes of the young Bengalees, of the young Japanese, of the young Chinese, of the young Australasian, and they far too often think this marching is the mighty tramp of modern progress.

You go to London, you enter university circles, you come into contact with men like Clerk Maxwell, whose "Life" I hold in my hand, and which has just dropped from the press, and you find that this style of philosophy, this agnosticism, this semi-materialistic and often practically atheistic speculation is really not controlling the most advanced thought of the British Islands, and especially not the most advanced thought of Germany. You know that Hæckel is one of the most persecuted men in Germany, simply because he is the defender of philosophical materialism. This Clerk Maxwell dies when you are in London. Who is he? Let Helmholtz tell you. Who is Helmholtz? Probably the foremost physicist in Germany. You have a conversation with him, months later, while in Germany, and he expresses his general accord with Lotze's philosophy, and his anxiety that the successor of Lotze should teach the anti-materialistic Lotzian philosophy. Helmholtz goes to London, to deliver

a eulogy of Clerk Maxwell. The *élite* of the British scientific world listen to the address. Who is Clerk Maxwell? As devout a Christian as ever lay on a death-bed. A man equipped with a mathematical knowledge, which a Huxley and a Tyndall do not possess; a man discussing the old and the new atomic theory, crystallization, the origin of life, and other similar topics that lie on the border-land between religion and science, from the point of view of the most exact research, and utterly repudiating agnosticism and accepting the supernatural. He is eulogized by Helmholtz for his scientific knowledge, placed on the pinnacle of scientific fame, and his theism is regarded as one of the greatest claims to scientific respect.

You are in England when George Eliot is buried. There is a sermon delivered over her grave asserting the immortality of the soul.

You are in England when Thomas Carlyle moves out of the sphere of time into that of eternity. You stand at his grave at Ecclefechan; you visit his lonely home at Craigenputtock; you fill your soul with what he called natural supernaturalism. That doctrine moves you as a scientific certainty, and you find that the more closely you clasp it to your bosom the more heartily are you in accord with the most advanced thought of the British Islands at this hour. (See "*Sartor Resartus*," chapter entitled "Natural Supernaturalism.")

Fichte wrote in his maturity: "Every man must die to sin and lead a new life, and this must be done as the act of his own moral freedom; yet it can be done only by looking for aid to Christ, the source of a new life. Through him must enter all who ever come into the Kingdom of Heaven." (See "German Culture and Christianity," by Joseph Gostwick, London, 1882, p. 203.)

Natural supernaturalism is not Christianity. Carlyle

was a pupil of Fichte, but he followed Fichte only half-way. In his age, or rather in his middle life, for he never reached great age, Fichte taught that the Gospel of John is the profoundest philosophy known to man. Carlyle never reached that height, I fear. Son of the Scotch Covenanters, Carlyle followed Fichte as much as he was capable of following any one, until he was not a little misled by Goethe. It is not fair to call him an opponent of Christianity. I found that scores among those who knew him best appreciated the Christian side of his character much more thoroughly than his rationalistic biographer, Mr. Froude, does. His best friends in Edinburgh call him substantially Christian. I have heard Mr. Spurgeon say "Thomas Carlyle was a good Old Testament Christian. I wish he had been a better New Testament one; but in this age we want a larger number of Old Testament Christians," said the shrewd preacher. Natural supernaturalism, ethical supernaturalism, God in nature, God in conscience, you find among the doctrines held by English advanced thought, in the name of the scientific method. With Carlyle these doctrines were not a creed only, but a life.

### Respect for Supernaturalism.

I now hasten to mention merely that historical supernaturalism, or God in history, a study of comparative religions, some attention even to the vagaries of spiritism, so far as they show undiscovered remainders in man's constitution, and, of course, a profound respect for natural science, are all characteristics of the best educated British circles. A scientific treatment of the historical origin of Christianity, enlarged attention to biblical criticism in all its branches, the might of biblical preaching in the best Scottish and English pulpits, the superb vigour of the greatest of the London

churches, like Mr. Spurgeon's, Dr. Allon's, Dr. Parker's, Dr. Dyke's, with the immense audiences of Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's, a growing union of churches, a great zeal for the reformation of the whole world, an application of the moral law to international affairs in the British Empire, Mr. Bright lately resigning his place in a proud English Cabinet because the moral law, as he thought, was not followed in England's conduct toward Egypt—these are steps the heavy fall of which you hear every time you go up to the sunlit heights where advanced thought in the British Islands loves to pace to and fro. Scotland has not given up her faith in the Old Testament, although she would like to see the Old Testament examined with the scalpel and microscope. You converse with Robertson Smith, a man little taller than this chair, but mighty—

> "If I could reach from pole to pole,
> I'd yet be measured by my soul"—

hardly the man, however, to leap the Scotch Free Church. You are not very sorry, if your opinions are what mine are, that he was dropped from his professor's chair; but you would be sorry if he should cease to publish. You would be sorry if his investigations were curbed in any way. He is a distant and yet real follower of Wellhausen and Kuenen; but these men are not regarded in Germany as by any means safe leaders of the most advanced Old Testament criticism.

Scotland you learn to love passionately. You pace to and fro in the Covenanters burial-ground; you walk over the fields made classic by Burns and Scott; you look abroad from Scottish heights upon many a landscape in which no hill rears its head unsung. You come into close sympathy with her reformers, her orators, her poets, her statesmen. You find the whole heaven of the inner sky

in Scotland studded with sacred stars and you have an inspiration every time you touch but the hem of the garment of the most heroic portions of Scottish religious history. You love England, and when, at last, you bid adieu to the British Islands and look back upon them, what figure is it that best summarizes the advanced thought, the advanced philanthropy, the real heart of the leading political power of the world? Mrs. Browning, Shakespeare's daughter, I think of her as the best symbol of the choicest part of Britain. In her grand Christian convictions, her mighty aspirations for progress, her love of the poor, her spiritual tenderness, born of Christianity, her mental aggressiveness, born of science, her womanliness —I had almost said her manliness—I will say her heroic readiness to follow God whithersoever he may lead; this woman, with Tennyson at her side, is really the best representative I can name of what appears to me to be the innermost heart of England and Scotland.

# THE PRELUDE.

## Does Death end Probation?

Give me no guess for a dying pillow. Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and my right arm drop from its socket rather than that either should be employed in putting under the head of any man, woman, or child a mere conjecture, however plausible, as a support in death. For one I have made up my mind that I will not go hence trusting my chances of eternal peace to the opportunity of repentance after death. What I will not do for myself, I will not directly or indirectly recommend others to do.

Discussing the question: Does death end probation? first practically, next theoretically, and then exegetically, I am to maintain three propositions:

1. If it be possible that death may end probation, the supreme dictate of practical wisdom is to repent now.

2. Mere reason shows that death may end probation.

3. The Scriptures show that death does end probation.

What have we to do, as practical people, with the seductive promise that those who do not have a fair chance here, may, possibly, have another chance hereafter? I want a fact, not a hypothesis, as my support in the dark waters which separate this world from the next. My conscience dictates repentance at this instant, and so does all practical wisdom. If we are not sure, and no man is sure, that there is an opportunity after death for repentance, and sure that we can use it in our own cases to advantage, it remains true that "now is the accepted time,

and now the day of salvation" for us. So obvious, so commonplace is this proposition, that the very sound of it is offensive, perhaps; nevertheless, propositions become commonplace by being often repeated on account of their wisdom. The commonplace, in this matter, is the supremely philosophical proposition.

Governor Corwin, of Ohio, once met a negro, who had run away from Kentucky, and was living in rags in a free State. "You made a mistake in running away," said the Governor to the black man. "You had friends and clothes and money enough south of the Ohio, as I happen to know; for I was acquainted with your master. Are you not now in need of all these things?" "Yes," said the negro. "Then," said the Governor, "you made a mistake in running away." "Governor Corwin," said the negro, "the situation in Kentucky is open, with all its advantages, and, if you choose to go and occupy it, you can do so." I turn to any foremost representative of the doctrine that there is an opportunity of repentance after death, and I say, "The situation is open with all its advantages; do you purpose to go and occupy it?" Not you, not I, in our senses. Do you purpose to recommend to any one near and dear to you that he or she shall go and occupy this opportunity with all its advantages? Not you, not I, while we retain sound minds. Henry Clay was once taunted by Calhoun, in the American Senate, with defeat in debate. "I had him on his back," said Calhoun, of the Kentucky senator. "I was his master." Henry Clay walked down the aisle of the Senate Chamber, and shook his long forefinger toward Calhoun, and said: "He my master! He my master! Sir, I would not own him as a slave!" Looking at this whole matter practically, from the point of view of sound common sense, I say to any advocate of the doctrine that there is opportunity of repentance after death, "He my master! Neither in life nor in death

would I own that theory or any one of its defenders as a slave!"

Passing now swiftly to the philosophical consideration of the question, Does death end probation? I summarize my views in a series of propositions, which might easily be expanded into volumes.

1. Whatever fixes character ends probation.

2. Character tends to a final permanence under the irreversible natural laws of the self-propagating power of habit.

3. It is indisputable that sinning against light hardens the soul, and blinds it to the very illumination needed to rectify its condition.

4. It is demonstrable, therefore, from principles of reason, that character will attain a final permanence, good or bad.

5. It is self-evident that a final permanence can be attained but once, and that, therefore, there is no second probation.

6. Reason alone, however, does not decide when and where this final permanence is reached.

7. Nevertheless, reason alone makes it appear possible, and in many cases highly probable, that a final permanence of character is attained, and probation closed, in the unspeakably solemn spiritual experiences which usually accompany death.

8. In death, considered merely as a physical change, there is nothing to effect a fixation of character: but, in death, considered as an event producing, in most cases, an almost preternatural arousal of conscience, and bringing new light from the invisible world, and requiring a decision for or against it, there is much to make it highly probable that death, or the moral choice made in death, determines the permanent bent of the soul.

9. All moral decisions during life tend to fix cha-

racter, and some great moral decisions during life are crucial. They may be instantaneous; but they go so far toward fixing character as to be the rudder of the soul's whole subsequent career.

10. Death in average cases is a great spiritual experience, and involves a great decision for or against the light it brings. It may be that, under the natural laws of the soul, this decision is crucial, and becomes the rudder of all eternity.

11. Death is the separation of the soul from the body.

12. Death is not over until the separation of the soul from the body is complete. Death does not end until the life of the soul completely outside the body begins.

13. It is in the highest degree probable to reason, from the observed experiences of the dying, that however torpid body and mind may be in many approaches to death, the soul, in the very article of death, is often awakened, and receives, as if from an invisible world, an illumination unknown to it before.

14. Even in sudden deaths, as the experiences of the drowning show—as my own experience shows—in being thrown twenty feet down a rocky bank in a sleeping-coach on a swift railway train, and expecting instant death, and finding between the brink and the bottom my whole life passing before me in panorama, the chambers of memory and conscience illuminated, as if a torch had suddenly been lighted inside of the brain—as thousands of well-attested similar experiences show—an instant may be enough to bring before the soul the record of its whole life, and involve moral decisions of the most stupendous import.

15. But it is not to be presumed that, in average cases, the separation of soul and body is instantaneous.

16. Much before that separation, whether rapid or otherwise, is complete, the light of eternity may have

dawned upon the soul. "Whether in the body or out of the body, God knoweth." Paul, the Apostle, was caught up to the seventh heaven, and "heard unspeakable things which it is not lawful for man to utter." The soul, before it is separate from the body, may very probably hear unspeakable things.

17. Accepting or rejecting this great new light may very probably fix the soul's character under natural law. If the soul rejects the new light received in death, the hardening and binding of the soul under natural law may be such as to be final. Whoever resists the great new light which comes in death, commits very probably the unpardonable sin, which hath forgiveness neither in this world nor in the next. Whoever goes through death with his teeth set against God may never open them.

18. Whoever resists the light received in death is likely to resist the first light received after death; and so moral obduracy in death may become final permanence of evil character after death, and thus, under the fixed natural laws of the will, death may become doom.

Pardon me if I ask you to be cautious how you turn these propositions about and use them as an encouragement for a death-bed repentance. Père Ravignan, in language before me, says: "In the soul, at the last moment of its passage, on the threshold of eternity, there occur, doubtless, Divine mysteries of justice, but, above all, of mercy and love." Please God, it may be so. There is probation in life, there is probation in death, and to the very end of death. Dr. Pusey, replying to Canon Farrar, says: "What God does for the soul, when the eye is turned up in death and shrouded, the frame stiffened, every limb motionless, every power of expression gone, is one of the secrets of the Divine compassion."

I believe in a physical body, a spiritual body, and a

soul. Death, as I conceive of it, is not disembodiment from the spiritual organism. There are forms of death which possibly may separate spirit and spiritual body from the physical body instantaneously; but in ordinary death I believe it is not safe to assert that the soul does leave the body precisely when breath does. Death is not over and probation has not ceased till the soul is separated from the body, and the mighty light which comes in the last and highest moment of spiritual experience before death ends, may have been enough to bring many a man who gave no visible sign of repentance into loyalty to God. I hardly dare hope this, however; for, as Canon Farrar himself says: "There is, in all the Bible, recorded but one example of effective death-bed repentance—that of the thief on the cross—one example that we might not despair, one only, that we might not presume." But, if this light be resisted, if this unutterable series of voices from the seventh heaven meet only moral obduracy on the part of the passing soul, I think it highly probable, under merely natural law, that this moral obduracy may carry with it such hardening and such blinding of the spirit as to be permanent.

I did not make the universe, but the universe is so made that whoever sins against light draws blood on the spiritual retina of the moral eyes. This is the most mysterious thing in the penalties the soul is called on to endure, that sinning against light blinds us to the very illumination needed to rectify our condition, That is a fact of science; that is a terrific philosophical truth which cannot be declaimed out of sight; that is a tremendous indisputable circumstance in natural law; and on it I plant myself when I say reason shows that resisting the light that comes in death may fix character and so end probation.

And, now, to enter upon the very centre of my theme;

I beg leave to read twelve passages, which I have selected most carefully from Holy Scripture, as affirming, directly or indirectly, that death does end probation. I am quite aware that this is a theme which for centuries has had the most elaborate discussion, and that it is wholly impossible to say on it anything new; but, if a man speaks from the depths of his own convictions, he is likely to touch some one who has had an experience similar to his own, and all I claim is to put before you what convinces me. Many a rationalist has rejected the Bible as of Divine authority because of admitting that it teaches that death does end probation, and that the state of character into which the soul drifts through the moral choice made at death is permanent.

1. "We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done *in his body*" (2 Cor. v. 10).

Compare this passage with the statement in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew concerning the last judgment, and you will see that the things for which men are commended or blamed before the great white throne are things which they could do only in the body. I cannot explain away this definite statement that we are to stand before the judgment seat at the last great day and every one of us receive the things done in his body—not the things done in the intermediate state.

How much can orthodoxy grant to those who hold the doctrine of the intermediate state? In the debate in England with Canon Farrar, it has been granted by standard Anglican authorities that there may be four places in the universe to which souls go—Tartarus and Gehenna on the left, Paradise and Heaven on the right. But between those two pairs of places there is a great gulf fixed. It may be, so Anglican orthodoxy concedes, that some souls are so imperfect at death that they need a pro-

longed preparation for Heaven. Their doom is fixed by their predominant choice at death, nevertheless, they are not ready for the highest mansions in their Father's house; and it is therefore possible that in a paradise, considered as the vestibule of Heaven, they may be kept under education to the last great day. Just so; if the predominant choice of a man at death is evil, if he rejects God, he may not go at once to the deepest of the pits of woe; he may go into Gehenna, and there, it being impossible for the good to visit him from the other side, he will have only evil companionship, and it is to be presumed, in view of what we know of the natural laws of the soul, that his character will deteriorate. His predominant choice has been evil, free; but fixed in malignant opposition to God; and so through the vestibule he will pass into the central chambers kept for those who have attained permanence of evil character. Canon Farrar says that, if you grant him as much as that, even if you deny that there is any passing from side to side of this gulf, he is satisfied. You say Canon Farrar asks for much more than that. In language which I hold before me in his latest book on this theme, his "Mercy and Judgment" (pp. 157, 158, Am. Ed.), Canon Farrar says: "Dr. Pusey would, I suppose, say that an irreversible doom is passed" in death on every soul, "but that the doom may be to a terminable and purifying punishment, a view which does not differ very materially from my own." God's mercy may reach us after death, "in the form, if not of probation (for on that subject I have never dogmatised), yet of preparation." Canon Farrar, in his summary of his faith, given at the end of this volume, says only: "I believe that, hereafter, whether by means of the almost sacrament of death, or in other ways unknown to us, God's mercy may reach many who to all earthly appearance (but only to all appearance) might

seem (but only seem) to us to die in a lost and unregenerated state" (p. 483).

Anglican orthodoxy, without protest, has allowed high authorities to teach that there is an intermediate state, Hades, including both Gehenna and Paradise, but with an impassable gulf between the two. I do not say that New England orthodoxy is satisfied with this mapping out of the region beyond death. Personally, it seems to me that those who make this map assume to know more than the Scriptures reveal. I do not care to have the region beyond death charted like a continent on this planet. I ask you to notice carefully that Dr. Pusey's position (see his volume entitled, "What is of Faith?") which Canon Farrar at this vital point accepts for substance of doctrine, is not equivalent at all to what is called the new departure, under the leadership of Professor Dorner and his American followers. Dorner believes that the great gulf is not fixed; but Canon Farrar, if you grant him a preparation for the worst or for the best, will admit that the gulf between these two kinds of preparation is fixed. He is forced to do this by the exegetical arguments of Anglican orthodoxy. Do not forget the large historic fact that, on this point, Christendom is agreed—the Greek Church, the Roman Church, the Anglican Church, the Nonconformist Church, the American Evangelical Church. There is hardly a point on which such substantial exegetical concord has been reached, age after age, as on this matter. You think the new departure has been led in England by Canon Farrar. There has been a new departure on a number of points, but the breadth of it has been immensely exaggerated. Canon Farrar is sometimes a loose writer, and the tendency of his books is to carry a careless reader further towards Universalism than the author has gone himself. His last book is much more moderate in tone than his first. It is not generally known that, while Canon Farrar

agrees with Dr. Pusey in asserting that there may be in the intermediate state a *preparation* of souls for the best or the worst, he agrees with him also in asserting that we have no right to feel sure at all that there is a state of *probation* there.

PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

2. "*The Lord knoweth how to keep the unrighteous under punishment unto the Day of Judgment*" (2 Pet. ii. 9).

You affirm that our Lord preached to spirits in prison. On the passage to which you now direct my attention (1 Pet. iii. 18–21, and iv. 6) whole libraries have been written, and scholars do not agree yet. Are you to found a pyramid upon its apex? Are you to build a whole new theology on a disputed obscure passage? What if I were to grant you that our Lord went and preached in one case to spirits in the intermediate state between death and the Day of General Judgment; are you to draw from this fact alone such stupendous inferences as Dorner does? The notorious truth is that this passage concerning the preaching to spirits in prison has often been interpreted by scholars of the very highest rank as referring not to preaching to the spirits of the dead at all, but simply to those "who sometime were disobedient" on earth, "when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah." You wish me to come to close quarters with this celebrated passage? Very well; I will give you my conviction concerning it, and it is that Peter is to be explained by Peter. The famous passage in First Peter is to be read in the light of a passage that is not often emphasized, but which ought to be pushed to the front, in Second Peter. I read here, in the revised version of Second Peter, second chapter, verses 4 to 10, that "God spared not angels when they sinned, but cast them

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11. "*Ye shall die in your sins.* Whither I go, ye *cannot* come. Ye are from beneath; I am from above. I said, therefore, unto you that *ye shall die in your sins;* for if ye believe not that I am He, *ye shall die in your sins*" (John viii. 21–24).

Three times that phrase repeated! Three times in the hand's breadth of one chapter of the Gospels our Lord Himself uses language which I can interpret only as implying that death is a finality.

The new departure is not found in the Gospels. The doctrine that there is opportunity of repentance after death did not proceed from the lips of omniscience in the person of our Lord. The decisive fact, as Professor Park has said, and let nobody think the word of Cæsar will not yet stand against the world, is that He who was the perfection of mercy and of knowledge, He who gave His life for the world, He who represents all the heights of the Divine love, never taught the doctrine of repentance after death. "The God-man, who came for the purpose of seeking and saving the lost, has taught more imperatively than any other one, that men who are lost when they die are lost for ever" (Prof. E. A. Park, Discourse at the Installation of Rev. Horace H. Leavitt, p. 30).

"I say unto you, my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do; but I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear Him, which after He hath killed hath power to cast into Hell; yea, I say unto you, fear Him" (Luke xii. 4, 5). I want preaching to have the Biblical tone, and I do not see how it can have this with Dorner's eschatology behind it.

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agrees with Dr. Pusey in asserting that there may be in the intermediate state a *preparation* of souls for the best or the worst, he agrees with him also in asserting that we have no right to feel sure at all that there is a state of *probation* there.

PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

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sentence: There are no serpents in Ireland. There is no new departure.

Almighty God is undoubtedly here; and I would have this discussion conducted as if on our knees, and without applause. I am a student of the relations of the natural laws to religious truth, and I profess to you, before God, that I find the natural laws as stern on the topic of punishment after death as the Scriptures. There are two sides to these laws; they lift the good as inevitably as they degrade the bad. They are in operation all around us. I see men every month of whom I honestly think the question is not whether they are drifting into a final permanence of evil character, but whether they have not already attained it. Of course, it is self-contradiction to suppose a final permanence other than final. Sometimes it is attained in this world. With these supreme natural laws around us, exhibiting their force in our own experience, and illustrated by all history, philosophy, and literature—by Shakespeare, by Plato, and by every great student of the human faculties since time began—how can we conclude that they will not operate in the intermediate state. Plato said the laws of the next world are brothers to the laws of this. To reason from the stupendous separations which these laws produce on earth to corresponding separations which they will produce in eternity, is, to my mind, to reason from the greater to the less. Heaven deliver us from teaching propositions hazardous to the souls of men! God prepare us all, by open eyes, by regenerated hearts, to go into the next world depending only on doctrines which are safe in any event!

# LECTURE.

## II.

If England is our motherland, Germany is our fatherland; and it must be confessed that, in the highest matters of philosophy and science, Germany now leads the world. The chief signs of the times in regard to advanced thought in German theology, as I interpret them, are four.

1. A daring but unmistakable undercurrent of opinion in favour of the organization of the more evangelical portion of the German State Churches into a Free Church, with no connection with the State.

2. The downfall of the mythical theory as to the New Testament.

3. Profound studies of the natural religion of conscience.

4. Progressive and yet conservative criticism of the Old Testament.

I will discuss the first two of these points to-day, and the last two next time, and there will be a third lecture on advanced thought in Germany, in which will be noticed Professor Zollner's views on transcendental physics, and their application to modern questions as to the reality of the supernatural.

Germany is dear to me because some moments of birth for great intellectual experiences have come to me on her soil. At Halle, in the gardens of Tholuck, in the lecture-rooms of a Julius Müller and a Hermann Ulrici; at Berlin, in the auditorium of a Dorner, a Curtius, a Kiepert, a Grimm, and a Helmholtz; at Leipsic, in the audiences

of a Delitsch, a Kahnis, and a Luthardt; at Heidelberg, in the classes of a Kuno Fischer; at Bonn, most especially, in consultation with a Lange, or prolonged interviews with a Christlieb, I have received some of the most stimulating personal influences to which I can look back in any land.

I have such a profound reverence for German learning that it is always a pain to me to be obliged to criticize the application of that learning to current German life. Nevertheless, you must bear in mind that, while I discuss advanced thought in different nations, my topic does not require me to bring into view retrograde applications of that thought. I am to point out the most promising buds on the topmost boughs of civilization, and do not undertake to mention all the frosts and chills which retard their development. I believe the American nation applies its advanced thought to daily life in Church and State better than Germany does, better than England does, and I had almost said better than Scotland.

### Torpor of State Churches.

The torpor of the German State Churches is one of the causes giving force to the undercurrent of demand in evangelical circles in Germany for a Free Church. The rationalistic preachers who are sometimes sent down by State bureaus to preach to evangelical congregations are an offence to the German sense of fairness, and that grievance incites to the support of a movement for a Free Church. What would Americans think if Government were to appoint preachers over congregations, and if a devout assembly were to find itself saddled with a rationalist in the pulpit, and not possessed of authority to unseat him? This is often the experience of really evangelical congregations on the Rhine, the Elbe, and

the Oder. Very little is printed on this subject in Germany; very little is said on this matter except in whispers in private circles; but you cannot be long in association with the leaders of evangelical thought in the Fatherland without finding that they are making preparation for a change in the organization of the German Church.

### The Court and the Church.

When the present emperor dies there will come to the throne in the German Empire a man of most liberal opinions in theology. The Crown Prince is not a rationalist. I do not regard him as an opponent to Christianity; but he is married to a daughter of Queen Victoria, and it is said she thinks that any man who believes in miracles is either a hypocrite or a fool. She was a pupil of Strauss. One of the first important remarks I heard, on going to Germany nine years ago, and the sentence came from no less a man than Professor Tholuck, was that the Crown Prince had married a woman of frivolous opinions in theology, and that great harm might ultimately come to the empire from her being a pupil of Strauss, the author of the mythical theory. A similar opinion I met often on a recent tour to six of the foremost German cities and universities. It is, of course, not certain, but it is probable, that the new Court that will be organized after the present venerated emperor passes away, will not be as favourable to Christianity as the present Court. Do not think it is the attitude of the Court which settles the attitude of the German State Churches and universities toward evangelical Christianity. You are immensely mistaken if you think the Court has power to lead the intellectual aristocracy of the land in the professorships of the great universities. *Lehrfreiheit* and *lernfreiheit*—freedom

to teach and freedom to learn—these are things asserted in Germany in the teeth of any possible example from the Court for or against Christianity. Germany, in the past, has not had any too much political liberty, and so she has become more emphatic than perhaps she otherwire would be concerning the preservation of her intellectual liberties. One of the most sceptical periods in modern German history was when there was on the German throne a really Christian ruler, and it is by no means the influence of the present emperor that has effected the recent change in the attitude of theological scholarship toward rationalism.

I do not expect, therefore, any large trouble to arise from the coming to the German throne of a man whose opinions may not quite coincide with those of the present Emperor and the present Chancellor, both of whom I believe to be devout Christians. Bismarck has a strange way of showing his mildness at times; nevertheless, these men, in life as well as in word, stand unflinchingly forward in support of a scholarly and undefiled Christianity, and are by no means unable to give good reasons for the faith that is in them. What I do expect is that, when the present Crown Prince comes to supreme power, there may be a little more freedom allowed to bureaus above the State Churches in sending down rationalistic preachers to the State Church congregations. There is an unmistakable revival of evangelical religion in several quarters of Germany. The German State Churches, especially the Lutheran, have been petrified; they have been very ineffective in preparing young men, in a religious way, for the ministry. They are marshes, in many cases, and the vapours sent up from them account for some very strange things seen through rationalistic university telescopes. Nevertheless, evangelical life has taken such a hold upon these churches in many parts of the empire, that, if the

bureaus send down rationalistic preachers much longer to these evangelical churches, there will be a secession and a free church formed, wholly separate from the State. In such an emergency, I think some evangelical teachers and preachers in Germany, well known on both sides of the Atlantic, but whom I must not name, for I do not wish to implicate them in any of these revolutionary agitations, would come to the front. A few of these teachers, understand well, not merely through books, but by travel, the condition of Scottish and English and American free churches.

### Free Churches Wanted.

It has often been my duty to call public attention to the fact that, in the United States in 1880, we had one in fifteen of the population inside the evangelical churches, and that, to-day, we have one in five. Here is the result of a century of sailing over the yeasty, foaming sea of a free church in a free State, where, as Europe predicted, we were to be wrecked. Already Australia has adopted the American precedent for her guidance. She has put all connection between Church and State into process of extinction in all her colonies. I have heard Archbishop Trench say, at his own table, to his associate ecclesiastics in Dublin, that Ireland could not go back to a connection of Church and State if she would, and would not if she could, and should not if she would. Church and State have long been partially separated in Scotland, and you already begin to hear all around the horizon of that land rising thunders on the theme of complete disestablishment. But who expects England to avoid radical discussions on this theme a century, or half a century, or a generation longer? Disestablishment is a great reform to be expected in a near British future. Nonconformity

in England is a giant, asks no favour of the State, of course, and is beginning to be above looking for any favour from society. I heard a great London preacher of a Nonconformist body say: "Other things being equal, the weight of a man is doubled in England by his belonging to the Establishment." But it will not be fifty years before such a remark cannot be made, as I hope. England is learning to respect Nonconformity. It is true that we, as Nonconformists, here in America, or as representatives of the same body who are called Nonconformists in England, stand a little more erect socially than some Nonconformists do in Great Britain. I have the utmost respect for the representatives of Nonconformity in the British Islands, but I dislike to see occasionally in some of them, a tendency to take a craven and apologetic attitude before the Establishment. In their great leaders I found no trace of this tendency. It seemed to me snobbishness; and perhaps snobbishness is the worst thing in English society. But, on the whole, free churches in England and Scotland and America have been so successful that Germany begins to study their system with the view of imitating it by-and-by. When some of the German churches become free, and are obliged to stand on their own merits or fall, we shall begin to see a new style of German preaching. That preaching, reacting through the congregations on the theological halls, will give us a new type of German theology, not merely scholarly, but devout. I know one great German professor, who for years was a pastor in London, who has been a delegate to the Evangelical Alliance in America, who is, perhaps, at this moment the foremost representative of the discussion of the Christian evidences in the German tongue, and who is in the attitude of a tiger ready for a spring. If a secession of evangelical churches

occurs, and a free church is formed in Germany, he will be the man for the hour. His heart, his head, his history, fit him to lead such a blessed change in the ecclesiastical arrangements of the German empire.

### Downfall of the Mythical Theory.

Notice next the downfall in Germany of the mythical theory of the New Testament; and here you will allow me to go slightly into detail.

Once for all I must ask you to bear with me, if I refer to a few things familiar to you, because my object here is to reach through print some to whom my themes are not familiar. Preachers in this audience need nothing I am saying, and if they come here they must always take their chances as to losing their time. I do not pretend to address scholars. I am a layman speaking to laymen. My work is in the dust. I discuss the question whether there is a soul, whether there is a God, whether there has been a revelation, whether there is contemporary evidence of the miracles of the Gospels. You, in your pulpits, are in the heights of discussion. You apply these things to the loftiest experiences the soul reaches in its spiritual life. I, however, although in the dust, although representing the very feet of all religious discussion, must be permitted to have my place, because, in our day, it is the feet that are most assailed, and on the feet, humble as they are, stand the body and the head of Christianity and of all natural religion.

What is advanced thought now inculcating as to the historic evidences of Christianity, and especially as to the mythical theory of Strauss, which gave scholars a certain amount of trouble a few years ago?

1. It is now admitted by Bauer, Renan, Strauss, and all really learned infidels, that four of Paul's Epistles were written before the year 60. These four are the First and Second to the Corinthians, and Romans, and Galatians.

2. Paul's four undisputed Epistles prove: (1) That within the twenty-five years of the date assigned to the death and resurrection of our Lord, numerous Christian societies have been established throughout the whole extent of the Romish Empire, from Jerusalem to Rome itself. (2) That in these societies there was agreement in the reception of the doctrines of our present Gospels as of Divine authority, and of the history recorded in the Gospels, as attested by the most irresistible and overwhelming contemporary evidence.

These four Epistles alone prove that the creed taught by Paul, and received by the Christian societies throughout the Roman Empire, before the year 60, included substantially all that the Christian creed of to-day embraces.

3. Between 38 and 60 A.D., there is not time enough in any age, and especially not enough in the age of Livy and Tacitus, for myths and legends to grow up and obtain acceptation as histories of actual fact.

4. The mythical theory of Strauss, the legendary theory of Renan, the tendency theory of Bauer—all of them applications of a theory of development to the explanation of the origin of the New Testament literature—are thoroughly confuted, and shown to be now utterly untenable by serious and educated men (see Bampton Lectures for 1877, by Prebendary Row; also, Professor Stanley Leathes' lecture in the volume entitled, "Modern Scepticisms," published by the London Christian Evidence Society; and also the Rev. Dr. G. Oswald Dykes' article

in *Brit. and For. Ev. Rev.*, No. CXI., on "The Witness of St. Paul to Jesus Christ").

5. But the application of the development theory to the explanation of the origin of the New Testament literature, having thus ignominiously failed, it is to be presumed that we shall not find in that theory a complete explanation of the Old Testament literature.

Go with me to the Colosseum in Rome, and convince yourselves that some things, 1800 years distant from us, can be made perfectly sure to historic conviction. This Colosseum is a huge object. It is difficult to get out of sight of it in the wide plain of the centuries. When was it built? It was begun in the year 72. Who built it? Jews captured at Jerusalem were the chief workmen employed on this structure. When was Jerusalem captured? In the year 70. Who captured it? Titus. How do you know Titus captured Jerusalem? Across the street, yonder, is an arch erected to his memory; and on it, to this day, in beatiful relief, you have representations of the golden candlestick and other utensils employed in the Temple. Nobody doubts that Titus, in the year 70, captured Jerusalem, and that the Jews helped to erect the Colosseum. When did Nero die? In the year 68. Solid, unmistakable verities these stones and these dates. There are very many events 1800 years gone by, of which we are more sure than we are of what happened in the next street an hour ago. When did Paul die? Under Nero. Everybody admits that Paul died in the reign of this despot, although there is a dispute as to the year; but he certainly died under Nero, and, therefore, before 68. When did Paul write his Epistles? *Before he died!*

STRAUSS.

Young men here, or those no older than your present lecturer, remember when the mythical theory of Strauss was passing through its haughty, domineering period, and was supposed to be something with which it was a little dangerous to meddle. I can remember that, when I entered Yale College, I was seriously advised to read, and not to read, Strauss's book on the life of our Lord. I took it down and turned it over, obtained possession of the theory, and for many years it lay in my mind without an adequate answer to it. No adequate answer had been given in 1858. Up to that time we were unable to show the masses of the people just how this theory should be confuted, although scholars knew, of course, that it was not tenable. I was not a scholar. I was in a period of unrest. I was passing through that transitional era in which young men can raise more questions than they can answer. Scholars were annoyed by this theory, because it was not easy to state to the people clearly what the answer to it is. A reply presumes considerable knowledge of early recondite matters in Christian history, and I am now venturing much in trying to condense into a few minutes what has been wrought out by the debates of a generation. Here is, as I suppose, a correct statement in outline of this whole mighty matter. It was supposed, a generation or two since, that the earliest date to which we can trace back the New Testament literature was 180 or thereabouts. The date commonly assigned to the Crucifixion and Resurrection is 34. Here, then, was a gap between the upper and lower blade of a pair of chronological shears; and in this opening between 34 and 180 there was time for myths and legends to grow up. It was Strauss's theory that, between 34 and 180

and 200, exaggerated accounts of what the Founder of Christianity did were woven about His idolized memory by His disciples, and that these exaggerations were mistaken for history. Elaborate illustrations were drawn from the growth of myths and legends in connection with heathen religions. A whole science of myths was originated, and you have it taught occasionally by sufficiently advanced retrograde thinkers in this country and in England to this hour. I presume a rumbling carelessness of liberal thought can be found even in the city of Boston that will, to-day, stand on this system of myths and legends, and haughtily reject the New Testament literature as not containing contemporaneous evidence of the reality of the Christian miracles. But for reasons, some of which I have indicated, we have now shut these shears, until the lower blade stands at 60, the upper at 34. Now we know that Paul wrote his Epistles, at least the four I have named, before Festus succeeded Felix in the government of Judea. When did Festus succeed Felix? In 60. Paul was in prison in Cæsarea two years before Festus succeeded Felix, and he wrote these Epistles before he was imprisoned; so we carry the date of the youngest of these Epistles up to 58. And for reasons which I will not enter upon in detail, the date of Galatians is now put at 54. Very well; 34, 54—twenty years only between these blades! There is not time in twenty years for myths and legends to grow up and be mistaken for history. Is it asserted that human memory is good for nothing if it stretch over a score of years? What is your memory worth as to things happening twenty years ago? What was happening then? 1882, 1872, 1862—we were in the midst of the Civil War. Your testimony before any jury as to matters of any size would be worth something to-day, even as to events a score of years gone

by. But I open this first chapter of Galatians and read that Paul went down into Arabia and spent three years. Fourteen years after he went up to Jerusalem. Now, if, as most commentators do, you add the three to the fourteen, you obtain seventeen years to take away from the twenty between 54 and 34. You shut those blades of the chronological shears until only three years remain between them. St. Paul's testimony as to the origin of Christianity is indisputably contemporaneous evidence, and the sneer of the infidels is overwhelmed. There is not enough left of Strauss's mythical theory between these two blades to make a fig-leaf large enough to cover the shame of historic scepticism.

# THE PRELUDE.

## The Future of Civil Service Reform.

Civil Service Reform in the United States has succeeded, as yet, only on paper, except in the city of Brooklyn. In that municipality twelve aldermen were lately put in goal for contempt of court. A mayor has been elected, who is conducting the city affairs on business principles. He has unusually large power for a city executive, and is held to a marvellously close responsibility. Brooklyn is thus attempting, at this moment, to solve a problem of really world-wide interest. Tell it not in Gath and whisper it not in Ashkelon; but the incredible statement has gone forth, not merely on partisan political authority, that there are one or two members of the Common Council of Boston itself who cannot read or write. What are we to do with the sneer of aristocratic circles in England, in Germany, in India, and of republican circles in Australia, to the effect that our form of government always fails in attempting to govern great cities? A fifth of the population of the American Union now lives in cities of 8,000 or more inhabitants. In Australia the suffrage has been made broad. Nearly a quarter of the population lives in cities. In Sydney, and especially in Melbourne, almost precisely the difficulties which the United States have with corrupt city officials are becoming very common, filling the newspapers with discussions and awakening the anxiety of patriots of every political creed. We are solving the question of Civil Service Reform in its national

aspects; but we have yet to apply it to state governments and municipal affairs.

Let the whole world be the background of all our discussions of our free institutions; for the whole world is watching our successes and defeats. Remember that, if we succeed in putting our Civil Service on a basis that will secure at once efficiency and honesty, we shall be removing the chief reproach brought against our institutions by their enemies abroad. Nowhere have I felt more humiliated in the presence of foreign critics than when I attempted to stand on the ground of our municipal, state, and national Civil Service, and show that its frequent corruption is a disease of the surface and not of the vitals. I most thoroughly believe that we are as honest a people as there is on the face of the earth; but, in the matter of Civil Service, we are more tempted than any other people. In eighty-two years our population has increased from 3,000,000 to 53,000,000. As late as 1801 there were less than 1,000 Civil Service officers in the whole country; now there are more than 100,000. We had then 69 custom-houses, and now have 135. Our ministers to foreign countries were then 4 and our consuls 63; now the ministers are 33 and the consuls 728. Then we had 906 post-offices; now we have 44,848. The Republican Party has at its disposal 110,000 appointive officers. George Washington could know something definite as to the fitness of all the men he appointed to the Civil Service; but it is not in the physical or mental power of any one man, nor of any ten men now to sift the army of applicants for employment under Government and dispense its enormous patronage intelligently. We must not expect to tie with mere paper twine a grab-bag as wide as the Continent and containing an annual income of four hundred millions of dollars.

The Civil Service Bill, which has just become a law, will be opposed by scores of men who voted for it. The question put to a new comer in society in Boston is, as you all know, Have you ever written a book? In New York, How much are you worth? In Chicago, How are you getting on? In San Francisco, Who owns you—the railway monopoly or the sand-lots? But in Washington the question is, Are you likely to be re-elected? Now, the people have spoken on the subject of Civil Service Reform, and, for fear of losing a re-election, many a congressman has recorded himself on the side of this reform, when, as I believe, he will not be found to fight very heartily for it at the polls or in caucuses.

What is the spoils system? It is the application to politics of the old style of marshalling armies in the mediæval age. The army was to be inspired by the hope of plunder. Loot! Booty! These were the watchwords of attacking battalions when a city was to be sacked. A secret conclave, a single chieftain, gave orders for the whole army, and the rallying cry of the soldiers was booty. Aaron Burr was the first man to apply to politics in this country the military system of the mediæval age. Spoils! Loot! Booty! These are to be the inspiration of attacking columns in political warfare. Spoils to the victors! This was to keep up the *esprit de corps* of great political organizations. And, just as in an army, a few men give the law to the whole mass of soldiers, so a secret conclave, or a single chieftain, according to Aaron Burr's system, was to rule the whole army of those who had the franchise. As the supreme crime in the soldier was bolting, or desertion, as it is called in military affairs, so the supreme crime in the voter was to be bolting or desertion from the line of effort prescribed by the chieftain. This is the spoils system that had its first application to our affairs by the subtle, sensual, almost devilish soul of

Aaron Burr, who had no confidence shown him either by George Washington or Napoleon Bonaparte, as much as he tried to gain the good will of each of these shrewd judges of human nature. Martin Van Buren approved and extended this scheme. Jackson was the apt pupil both of Aaron Burr and Martin Van Buren.

What I insist on is that booty, loot, has become of colossal proportions in this republic. You have by this Civil Service Bill less than thirty thousand of our officers appointed after examination. All the rest is booty yet; all the rest, under the provisions of this bill, can be changed whenever parties are changed. England changes only about thirty men when she changes parties. Out of an hundred and ten thousand officers, eighty thousand, including all on whose appointment a vote of the national senate is necessary, are not reached by this enactment. Very soon there will be one hundred thousand to be changed, even if this bill is carried out. Our population is doubling every twenty-five or thirty years. We might have that law fairly executed, and yet change two hundred or four hundred thousand officers every time we change parties at Washington. The republic will not safely bear this strain.

I do not assail the new Civil Service law as anything else than the best that could be carried through Congress at the present time. It is an educative measure. It is a moderate, wise enactment under the present circumstances. I greatly reverence the wisdom of the chief promoters of this bill, especially of the man who drew the larger part of it, the Hon. Dorman B. Eaton, and of the senator who added the section against political assessments—General Hawley, of Connecticut. They are likely to be remembered in generations to come as foremost friends of one of the most important reforms of our vexed day. These men are, no doubt, profoundly shrewd

in driving the thin edge of the wedge first, and not attempting to force the thickness of reform at once into the gnarled oak of popular and partisan prejudice.

But I think it high time to raise a note of alarm—a note of predictive warning, at least—that, even if its provisions could be carried out in good faith, the new Civil Service band would not close the grab-bag of partisan spoils. It leaves open more than two-thirds of the entrance into that continental basket of the Treasury. We must expect that the size and fatness of these spoils will continue to be a temptation to greed and fraud. Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus never had $400,000,000 to dispose of annually.

But who expects that the new law will be carried out in good faith by the Democrats if they come to power, or by the Republicans in case they should succeed the Democrats, unless the people rise and thunder in its favour continually. We had a Civil Service Commission appointed not many years ago, and we had high hopes about what it was to do; but Congress starved it to death. It is a significant whisper at Washington that more than a score of politicians who voted for that bill are known to be resolved to work for its defeat as a law. On the day when that bill passed the House of Representatives it was my privilege to be in the national Capitol, and I put the question right and left: "What will be the fate of the Civil Service Reform Bill the Senate has sent to the House?" "It cannot pass. There is no hope of its passing. Even if it should pass, it would be so changed that you would not know the bill." But it did pass by an overwhelming majority of three to one. That vote is, probably, the most auspicious event in our history since the overthrow of the Rebellion and the resumption of specie currency; but I would have you look beyond it.

The political managers of the country are yet a close

league. The Tammany Halls, the Albany Regencies, under other names and under the old ones—are yet active. There is no attempt yet made to apply Civil Service Reform to state and municipal affairs. There are loopholes in this bill I will not pause to discuss. Suffice it to say many a man who voted for it is now saying, "We will drive a coach and four through it." Now I wish the people to put a strong hand on the reins of any coach and four that seeks to drive through that law, and show them that such audacity is not profitable.

The last elections were, apparently, a triumph of the people over party. They were a blow of the serious masses of citizens against the political machine. They were an assertion of the independence of the people over political dictation and secret conclaves. They were a proclamation of the sense of the people that state affairs should not be under national control, and city affairs not under state control. We have entered, apparently, upon a new era of independent politics. Thank God, it has been proved that only independent and Sunday-school politics are good for anything through a course of four years.

This bill contains four great words—examination, probation, promotion, prohibition; examination of all candidates for place in the Civil Service; the appointment of men from the list of those who have successfully passed this examination; promotion for merit; probation before an absolute appointment is made; and prohibition of political assessments. These are the four great ideas of this bill, unless I should mention as a great idea—it is so novel—that no man shall be employed in the public service who uses intoxicating liquors to excess. Thank Heaven, that provision is part of this law! But the people must stand unflinchingly by each one of these great words; otherwise they will turn out to be but thin air. Over and

over we have been cheated in the promise of the hope of Civil Service Reform; and, unless the people thunder at the polls repeatedly, the certainty is that a coach and four will make sport of that glorious enactment.

What more, then, ought the friends of Civil Service Reform to do?

1. Maintain the organization of Civil Service leagues throughout the country to watch the execution of the law just enacted.

2. Distribute literature to keep before the people the great facts as to the reform.

3. Prepare defeat at the polls for all opponents of the new law.

4. Broaden that law gradually so as to embrace consular appointments and the majority of all the Civil Service offices.

5. Extend the operation of Civil Service examinations, probation before final appointment, promotion for merit, and prohibition of political assessments to state governments.

6. Extend the same to the whole sphere of municipal governments.

If we succeed in governing the great cities well, England may rule, but we shall reign. The eyes of civilized nations throughout the world are on America. Our example will tell to the very ends of the earth in the matter of the leadership of hermit nations that are now reforming themselves. We shall be imitated oftener than England will be, provided we show only that a broad suffrage can govern thoroughly well our great cities and a colossal Civil Service. There is much more likelihood that, in the reforms, the future England will approach us than that we shall approach her. The topic of Civil Service Reform ought to be discussed, not merely in its municipal and state and national relations, but in its

international. I would have young men who are friends of reform quote often to themselves Edmund Burke's adjuration: "*Sursum corda.*" Lift up your hearts! Act as patriots toward cities, and states, and nations, and the whole world. The cause which seeks to promote a pure Civil Service in the foremost republic of all time is a hope of all humanity; for at the bottom of every serious soul on the globe is the prayer that governments of the people, for the people, and by the people may not perish from the earth.

# LECTURE.

## III.

### The New Criticism of the Old Testament.

The Scriptures of the Old Testament were the Bible of our Lord and Saviour Himself. Whoever applies to them the microscope and scalpel of modern criticism seems to be half profane; and I do not blame average Christians for feeling a shudder pass through their souls as they see the Old Testament laid on the dissecting-table and treated with all the coolness with which a corpse is handled under the knives of a surgeon. Eighteen centuries of victorious Christian discussion prove, however, that there is nothing permanently unsafe in the application of knives and microscopes to all themes, however sacred. Shut the door on inquiry, and doubt always comes in at the window. Let investigation proceed, let the Old Testament be examined as thoroughly as the New has been, let theories of development be applied to it as they have been to the New. Most probably the result on the field of Old Testament criticism will be what it notoriously has been on the field of the New, that attack will lead to reply, and the serious efforts of infidels occasion yet more serious efforts of Christians; and so, while knowledge is enlarged, impregnable fortifications will rise on ground where, hitherto, there has been an insufficient defence.

What position does the advanced thought of Germany take concerning the new criticism of the Old Testament?

### Three Schools of Criticism.

There are three schools of Old Testament criticism in Europe. On the extreme right is a man like Keil, well known to all scholars as the joint author with Delitzsch of probably the best series of commentaries on the Old Testament. He is an extreme conservatist; his orthodoxy we should call that of the old school. In the middle stands Delitzsch, a conservative progressive, or a progressive conservative. On the extreme left, you have men like Wellhausen and Kuenen. Old school, new school, raw school! These are accurate designations of the parties usually found in the front of advancing discussion. The new departure which I have been discussing seems to me to be rather more than new school; it is very nearly raw school. I belong to the new school; but Heaven forbid that I should join the raw school.

Wellhausen and Kuenen I have heard spoken of with disrespect by nearly every scholar with whom I conversed in Germany. I must not name my authority; but I went one day to a great commentator of the University of Bonn, a man whose name is known throughout the world, and I said to him: "What do you think of Wellhausen?" "A most pestilent critic; a man who is misleading the theological students of Germany; not at all a representative of our best scholarship; a person with a beautiful style, attractive in his manner of presenting his themes, but usually without substance in his critical analysis."

Walking along the bank of the Rhine with a German professor, whose name is known throughout Christendom, and not seeking nor expecting any such disclosure, I was told that it is believed that more than a few theological pupils in Holland are immoral men. Nobody pretends to doubt that, in some of the theological schools of the

Netherlands, and especially in the hall at the head of which Kuenen stands, morality is not indispensable to membership of a theological class. On a topic like this only a whisper can be uttered. I said to my informant: "If the facts were known in the United States that theological students in certain schools are believed on credible evidence to be immoral men, we should no more take our theology from that style of schools than we should take our drinking waters from these gutters." There is not a little of theological discussion in Europe conducted by immoral men. It is a fact that men sometimes come out of semi-rationalistic theological courses in France and Holland with the filth of the pit upon them, and go into state churches as preachers, or into certain universities as professors; and, when books are published by them, we must, forsooth, sit down and pick them to pieces and study them with painstaking candour; for, if we do not, liberalism will criticize us for narrowness. Let us send forth from America a breath of New England moral dignity to sweep out of sight all theology that does not come from a pure heart as well as a clear head.

Wellhausen, who was lately a professor of theology in Greifswald, is now a member of the philosophical faculty at Halle. Germany has not asked for the second part of his famous book on the History of Israel. Only the first part has been published, and that is fragmentary in structure; and he has just announced that he does not intend to issue the second part for many years to come, and that there will not be soon any new edition of the old part now out of print. Does that look as if Germany were perishing to know Wellhausen's opinion on the Old Testament? I once had opportunity to ask Robertson Smith, in a parlour in Aberdeen: "How would you prove the supernatural origin of the Decalogue?" His answer was: "You cannot prove it to a man who is not inclined

to admit it." Whereupon I said: "What do you think of Wellhausen's theories concerning the Old Testament?" "I do not adopt them all. I make strenuous objection to many of them; but I believe Wellhausen knows more of the Old Testament than any other man in Germany." Delitzsch, on the other hand, says that Wellhausen pleases young scholars, but not mature ones.

### Delitzsch's Eight Propositions.

Let me turn from the raw school, and also from the old school, to that middle position which, I believe, is the safest. Let us hear what men like Delitzsch say in answer to the question, How are we to meet the new criticism of the Old Testament? This pregnant inquiry I am able to answer in Professor Delitzsch's own words. It will always be a keen delight to me to recall in memory an evening at Leipsic, when I heard this great Old Testament scholar read eight propositions, before an English gathering of students, and expand them to an hour and a quarter in vivid, idiomatic English speech. I now hold in my hand Delitzsch's autograph copy of these eight propositions, and I value them exceedingly. They seem to me to be altogether the most authoritative and weighty words that have recently been uttered on Old Testament criticism, and not to be surpassed by anything their author has written elsewhere in space as small as these occupy. I had his permission to publish them, and I shall venture to read them, as they are brief and exceedingly pointed. Here, then, is the platform on which the evangelical conservative and progressive new criticism of the Old Testament stands, and I confess it is a position to which I should be glad to bring the whole Christian Church. Professor Delitzsch says:—

1. "The historical criticism of the Old Testament

Scriptures, as practised by Kuenen and others, starts from the dogmatic presupposition of the anti-supernaturalistic view of the world. This criticism denies miracle, denies prophecy, denies revelation. Employing these words, it joins with them philosophical, not biblical, conceptions. The results of this criticism are, in the main points, foregone conclusions, and its presuppositions are ready for use in advance of any investigation."

Anti-supernaturalism is the loadstone that throws every compass on the ship of this new criticism out of its natural position. The Old Testament must be so manipulated as to show that nothing miraculous lies behind its accounts of the supernatural. In order to prove that no prophecies were ever fulfilled the dates of many prophets must be brought down beyond that which has been assigned to them for ages by the best scholarship. The Decalogue could not have been proclaimed on Sinai among thunders; and so we must suppose, says Wellhausen, that all that is said in the Book of Exodus about thunders of Sinai is a fiction, a piece of rhetoric invented ages afterwards to give impressiveness to the moral law.

2. "On the contrary, our historical criticism starts from an idea of God from which the possibility of miracle follows. Confessing the resurrection of Christ, it confesses the reality of a central miracle to which the other miracles of redemptive history refer as to the sun its satellites. In view of the indisputable harmony of the Old Testament prediction and the New Testament fulfilment, it confesses the reality of prophecy. In consequence of the self-knowledge and the recognition of God which Christianity affords, it confesses the reality of revelation.

3. "We reject, *à priori*, all results of criticism which abolish the Old Testament premises of Christianity as the religion of redemption. The second and third chapters of Genesis are of greater weight than the entire Penta-

teuch. In this history of man's temptation and fall and of God's preparations for the reformation of men through judgment and struggles, it may be that facts and the dress of the facts—that is, the forms of representation in which they are clothed—are to be distinguished from each other ; but, with the substantial reality of this history, the religion of redemption stands or falls. The historical unity of the origin of mankind is one of the indispensable presuppositions of Christianity which, without it, could be the religion of the most perfect morals, but not the religion of the redemption of mankind.

4. "Those portions of the contents of the Pentateuch which belong to the substance of Christian faith, are independent of the results of critical analysis. For that the people of Israel, after their miraculous deliverance from Egyptian slavery, received the law by God's miraculous revelation in the mount of Sinai, and that Moses was the mediator both of Israel's deliverance and of the Divine legislation, is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of all the writers who participated in the codification of the Pentateuch ; by the song of Deborah (Judges v. 4–8, 9), and by the prophets of the eighth century, as Amos ii. 10, Hosea xii. 13, Micah vi. 4, and vii. 15. The religious tone and substance of such authentic psalms of David as Psalms viii. xiv. xvi. are quite inexplicable without the priority of the revealed law which David praises in Psalm xix.

5. "The oldest constituent part of the law is the Decalogue, and the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx. xxiii.), the overture of which is the Decalogue. In Deuteronomy, Moses repeats the Decalogue freely, and melts it in the current of his testamentary admonitions. (And now notice this searching sentence.) *In the Pentateuch there is no part claiming, according to its own testimony, to be written by Moses himself, which may not be shown to go back*

*substantially to Moses' own hand.* The proper style of Moses is the original of that form of style which is called Jehovistic and Deuteronomic.

6. "It is true that many, or, at least four hands, participated in the codification of the Pentateuchal history and legislation. But what the modern critics say regarding the ages of these writers is quite uncertain. In general, the results reached by these critics are by no means as unquestionable as they pretend to be. It would be unfortunate if the faith of the Church—that is, our historical certainty of the fundamental facts of redemptive history, were dependent on these critical results. Many of the former results of the critical school are now out of fashion; its present results often contradict each other. In reality, we know little, and imagine that we know much.

7. "It is unjustifiable to obtrude these modern critical results upon the Church, or to draw those who are not theologians, into the labyrinth of Pentateuchal analysis. Without knowledge of the original Hebrew, an independent judgment about these questions is quite impossible. Indeed, Wellhausen's sagacity is as great as his frivolity. Young scholars, but not mature ones, are fascinated by him. There are elements of truth in the new phase of the Old Testament criticism; but the procedure of sifting has scarcely begun.

8. "It is true that the Mosaic legislation had its history, and that the codification of its parts was executed successively. But the reconstruction of this history is very difficult, and perhaps impossible. It is enough that the law has the very character which the Epistle to the Hebrews describes. Our Lord is its end, and He has balanced the account book with His blood. Moses and his Elohists and Jehovists are like shadows which disappear before the Word which is made flesh."

Such is an authoritative statement of the position of the foremost critic of the Old Testament in Germany. I suppose no one would place any member of the extreme left wing on as high a plane as Delitzsch in the matter of learning, candour, and large experience in Old Testament criticism. You say Delitzsch has not always exhibited entire candour. For instance, his commentaries speak of Isaiah as if it were all written by one author, while he is said to give his classes authority to suppose that his opinion now is that there was a Deutero-Isaiah. I have heard some of Delitzsch's pupils criticize him for not making changes in the stereotype plates of his commentaries issued some years ago; but Delitzsch knows very well that when he makes an important statement in his class-room all specialists in this department throughout Europe will promptly hear of it. He knows he cannot put before his class his fresh opinions without scholars throughout Christendom very soon learning what they are. His newer views are discussed in his articles in current theological magazines. I think it unfair to accuse him of vacillation or want of candour because he has not changed the stereotyped plates of his works. In his maturest years he is a man of fresh spirit. He commands naturally the enthusiastic loyalty of youth among his students. Always abreast of the most advanced of serious scholars on his themes, he is quite willing to make changes that are necessary in his opinions, and all this is a ground of confidence in him rather than the reverse.

### His Concessions.

In order that you may have fairly before you both his concessions to the critics and the limitations he puts on their theories, I have endeavoured to summarize in four propositions the essential points of difference between

Delitzsch and the left wing of critics of the Old Testament.

1. The Pentateuch has been correctly analyzed into the work of at least four different hands; but what the modern critics say as to the age of the different documents composing it is quite uncertain.

2. The so-called higher criticism has, perhaps, proved that many of the laws found in the Pentateuch arose gradually, according to the needs of the people; and it is certain that Ezra had a hand in their codification; but it cannot be admitted that the Priest's Code, including the statements as to the giving of the law on Sinai, is the work of the free invention of the latest date, which takes on the artificial appearance of history.

3. The chronological order in which the documents arose has probably been correctly described as, first the Jehovistic, and next the Elohistic portions; but the law of Ezekiel xl.–xlviii. is not prior to the Priest's Code of Exodus, as the critics maintain, but subsequent to it.

4. There is a certain amount of real learning enlisted on the side of the rationalistic criticism; but it is governed by foregone conclusions; it is fundamentally anti-supernaturalistic; and so its results are arbitrary, and reached in advance of investigations.

Students of this subject should be referred to a series of very careful articles lately published by Delitzsch in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, and largely translated by Professor Curtiss, of Chicago, in this country. I can commend most conscientiously Professor Curtiss's elaborate article in the *Presbyterian Review* for October, 1882, on Delitzsch's position as to the new criticism of the Old Testament. (See also several other highly valuable articles in the *Presbyterian Review* and the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1882 and 1883, on Old Testament Criticism, and, most especially Professor Green's "Moses and the Prophets.")

Professor Curtiss puts the whole complex matter very vigorously and clearly before his readers in this article; and his opinions, as all scholars here know, are sufficiently conservative on this topic. Professor Curtiss is even more conservative than Delitzsch, who has been his great master, and who, as I happen to know, is exceedingly proud, as with justice he may be, of the work of his American pupil.

### Summary of the Present Position.

If you will bear with me once for all, I will summarize the position which, according to my judgment, may now be safely taken as to the new criticism of the Old Testament.

1. It is indisputable that the Pentateuch teaches ethical monotheism and inculcates a pure spiritual worship.

2. Even if it were shown that the documents composing it were possessed in common by many of the nations, among which the Hebrews had their origin, the fact would remain incontrovertible that these nations were predominantly polytheistic and devoted to a corrupt form of worship.

3. The documents, therefore, must be supposed to have been purified from polytheism and other false doctrines, before they were made a part of the Pentateuch; and this cleansing of them, in a barbaric age, from adulterate elements which poison them in their Chaldean and Babylonian form, is one proof of their inspiration.

4. The inspiration of the Pentateuch in regard to religious things, would not be disproved by showing that it was made up according to the documentary theory of the critics.

5. The new criticism of the Old Testament raises a question not as to the fact, but as to the manner of

inspiration. This discussion does not, therefore, touch fundamental points; for the question as to the manner of inspiration is not one between believers and unbelievers, but between Christians themselves.

The churches differ in their theory as to the manner of inspiration, although they agree as to the certainty of the fact. A discussion as to the manner is important. Do not think I underrate the difference between a low and a high theory of inspiration; but a discussion as to the mere manner is of almost infinitely less consequence than a discussion as to the fact; and a discussion of the fact of inspiration is of far less consequence than a discussion as to the fact of revelation.

6. The churches at large, therefore, need not be drawn into the labyrinth of Old Testament criticism; for the practical issues involved in it do not affect the chief matters of the Christian faith.

7. The theory that Ezra is the really responsible author of the Pentateuch does not account for the literature which is admitted to have existed before Ezra's time, and which presupposes the existence of the chief portions of the Mosaic law, and especially of the Decalogue. Such literature is found in the song of Deborah (Judges v. 4), and in the writings of the earlier prophets, such as Amos ii. 10; Hosea xii. 13; Micah vi. 4, and vii. 15; and in Psalms viii. xiv. xvi. xix. which are authentically ascribed to David. The spiritual elevation of the Psalms implies a training received from a previously existing Decalogue.

My friends, let this topic burst upon you like the welling forth of a spring of crystalline water from the mountain side; and perhaps by sudden onset it will master you, and give you peaceful convictions in the midst of all the tumult of discussion. What do we know about the Psalms? Some of them were not written by David;

but the most of them were. They came into existence, large numbers of them, before Ezra's time. Who can explain the Psalms, without supposing a moral law like the Decalogue going before them, and leading Israel to those heights of spiritual experience which the poetry of David expresses? The world has not reached similar heights since, except in a very few cases, in which Christianity has been the source of the elevation. What accounts for the bursting into history of these Psalms if you do not suppose a mighty spiritual experience going before them in the history of Israel? A law awakening the soul to spiritual sensitiveness, and making the writing of these Psalms possible, must have existed for generations before that date. The great Psalms, the oldest, are something that cannot be explained at all, unless you suppose a great spiritual training in the previous history of Israel. David's Psalms presuppose the Decalogue, both psychologically and historically.

8. The theory that Ezra is responsible for the Pentateuch does not account for the figure and influence of Moses as delineated in the Old Testament at large.

Anti-supernaturalistic critics attacked the New Testament; but what they could not explain was the figure of the apostle Paul moving through the first century, and founding churches from side to side of the Roman Empire, and filling them with a faith and life which lifted heathenism off its hinges and turned the course of the dolorous and accursed ages into new channels. What they could not explain was the character of our Lord in the New Testament literature. There it stands, and, as I heard Professor Peabody, of Harvard University, say, the starting forth on the historic canvas of such a picture as that, under the fingers of such unskilled limners as the fishermen of Galilee, is proof of its historical reality; and its historical reality is proof of its divinity.

Just so the new criticism of the Old Testament is disturbed by the presence of the colossal historic figure which we call Moses. There is the picture in the Old Testament writings. It cannot be eliminated from them. It is a consistent painting of character. There must have been a cause bringing that painting into existence. If the Pentateuch is a piece of scrap work, if it was patched together by this editor and that, and did not take its present final form until the time of Ezra, how are you to account for the reverence shown for the memory of Moses in these earliest Psalms? How are you to account for the zeal of the early prophets before the period of the exile? How are you to account for the reverence of all ages subsequent to Moses for his historic character as described in the Pentateuch? Moses is utterly inexplicable; this picture of him in the Old Testament writings is without adequate cause, on the supposition that he is simply a figure which the bits of coloured glass in the kaleidoscope of fragmentary documents have taken by accident as pious fiction has turned them over and over. The kaleidoscope explanation of the origin of the picture of Moses' character is utterly unscientific, and nothing but anti-supernaturalistic prejudice can in this matter make the so-called *critical* school appear as anything other than a merely and most arbitrarily *conjectural* school.

9. The extreme theory of the left wing of the conjectural school reduces a great part of the history of the Pentateuch to pious fiction, the composition of which cannot be made consistent with common honesty or common sense.

Wellhausen has this atrocious passage in his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on Israel (p.399): "The giving of the law at Sinai has only a formal, not to say a dramatic significance. It is the product of the poetic necessity for such a representation of the manner in

which the people was constituted Jehovah's people as should appeal directly and graphically to the imagination. Only so can we justly interpret these expressions according to which Jehovah with His own mouth thundered the Ten Commandments down from the mountain to the people below, and afterward, for forty days, held a confidential conference with Moses alone on the summit. For the sake of producing a solemn and vivid impression that is represented as having taken place in a single thrilling moment, which in reality, occurred slowly and almost unobserved."

10. The theory here opposed is inconsistent with the representations of the New Testament that Moses was the author of the law. The supernatural origin of the Mosaic legislation, and especially of the Decalogue, is affirmed by our Lord Himself.

What was the opinion of our Lord and Saviour concerning the Old Testament? His opinion ought to be ours. I know that careless men have sometimes quoted our Lord's sayings concerning the Psalms to prove that all the Psalms were written by David. That would be an unwarranted use of His language. So I believe we cannot prove from His language that the whole account of Moses was written by Moses; for it contains the account of his death and he could not have written that. Any theory of the Old Testament inconsistent with the Divine inculcation of our Lord Himself must be pronounced unhistoric and unscientific, as it is surely antibiblical. Moses is named eighty times in the New Testament, and, among these, twenty-four times as the author and fifteen times as the writer of the whole or a part of the law. (See *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, No. CIII. p. 113.)

11. The central historical error of the rationalistic critics is in supposing that the non-execution of a law proves its non-existence.

Luther led the Reformation, and, as has been suggested by many a disputant on this theme, it would be easy, on the principles of the new school, to prove that Luther wrote the New Testament. Ezra wrote the Pentateuch, forsooth! The chief of the laws in the Pentateuch did not exist in ages when we have no proof of their observance. Then we may, perhaps, prove that Luther wrote the Epistle to the Romans, and especially the one to the Galatians, which was his chief weapon in the time of the Reformation. The New Testament seems to have been forgotten in the Dark Ages for a long while; and, if the non-observance of a law proves its non-existence, then the New Testament was not in existence in the Dark Ages, or at least large portions of it were not.

### Assyriology and Egyptology.

12. Many questions as to the structure of the Old Testament writings cannot be settled until our knowledge of Assyriology, and especially of Egyptology, has progressed further. They must await the advance of historical and archæological science, and should not be answered on exegetical grounds alone.

Professor Lenormant, author of a recent book entitled "The Beginnings of History," is a devout Catholic, but he is at the same time a thorough scholar in archæology, He holds that the day has not come yet for a final criticism of the Old Testament; and well may he do so when our theories are every year being revolutionized as to secular history by the uncovering of ancient cities. The general progress of archæological knowledge has caused a revision again and again of old positions. As we study Babylon and Chaldea at large, as we study Egypt, we are likely to obtain information that will make archæological science possible on Old Testament grounds. It was only

yesterday, as it seems to me, that I was standing in the Boulak Museum in Cairo, looking into the face of a mummy, said to be that of the king that oppressed the children of Israel in ancient Egypt. It is only yesterday, as it were, scholars began to feel sure that there are things yet left in Egypt that may illuminate the period of the Exodus. It is only yesterday that we obtained possession of what is now called the Chaldean account of the Deluge. What is the tendency of all these discoveries? Herodotus used to be sneered at as untrustworthy; but no man sneers at him to-day. The general result of the progress of archæological knowledge in Egyptology and Assyriology has been to substantiate the grand facts of the Old Testament history. This tendency is so striking that we may stand upon archæology in its present state in making our reply to the extreme left of the new criticism of the Old Testament. Professor Lenormant admits that the Pentateuch may have been made up by a combination of documents; but he finds proof of its inspiration in the purification of these documents from polytheism and all inculcations of idolatry and other false doctrines. He sees in the winnowing of these books proof that God was behind their composition.

There is a bell in the cathedral of Cologne, made by the melting together of French cannon. It would be a very difficult task indeed to analyze that bell and determine whence the cannon came. Something like this, however, is the task before those who adopt the extreme theories of the rationalistic critics of the Pentateuch. You must be supposed to show in the minute literary traits of this series of documents the dates of their origin, the dates of their combination, and the dates of subsequent editorial supervisions. I, for one, think that, even if it were to be granted that documents drawn from many polytheistic nations and ages were the

original constituents of the Pentateuch, we have not touched the doctrine of the inspiration of the combined mass at all. The mass is strangely purified from all false doctrine. A divine fire has burned all adulterate elements out of it, and fused the constituents in a combination wholly new. These cannons are one set of objects; melted together into a bell and hung in a cathedral tower, they are another object altogether. Mere white dust is one thing; compacted into marble, in a vase, it has a ring, and is quite another. These cannon, melted and hung aloft in the form of a bell, are no longer cannon. They are an inspired work. It is our business, indeed, to know all we can as to the composition of this bronze; but our highest business is to ring the bell in the cathedral tower. The moral law, the ethical monotheism of the Pentateuch have proved their resonance as often as they have been put into practice, age after age. The Pentateuch hung in the cathedral tower of the world has uttered God's voice, and it is our business to ask how we can ring the bell in the heights of history, rather than how it originated by the melting together of many fragments.

# THE PRELUDE.

## The Vanguards of Christian Missions.

The pillar of fire, which is the supernatural vanguard of Christian missions, is the Biblical truth that all men are to be judged by the deeds done in the body. Because I do not believe that we are to be judged by the deeds done in any intermediate state, I do believe in missions to all men in their present state. Because I do not believe in probation after death, I do believe in sending missions to all men before their death. I think I know as thoroughly as that I am alive that whoever does not attain similarity of feeling with God cannot be at peace in His presence, and I have seen in nominally Christian lands and in pagan countries millions of whom the cool judgment of science must be that they are acquiring a character dissimilar to that of God. They are living in the love of what God hates, and in the hate of what God loves, and these postures of soul tend to become permanent. It is self-evident that, without deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it, there can be no salvation; but it is indisputable that millions of our race, from not beholding God as He is revealed in the Gospels, are failing to obtain this double deliverance. It is a truth of Scripture, as well as of ethical science, that the blood of my brother may cleave to my skirts if I have light which he needs vitally and do not communicate it to him. All these facts are visible in the coolest scientific view of the ethical condition of the nations.

It would not be necessary for me to open the Scrip-

tures to make me zealous for missions, because the philanthropic attitude of soul is enough to give us zeal in this particular. There are three hundred millions of women now on this planet who have only the Buddhist hope of being born again as men instead of toads or snakes. There are eighty millions of women in Moslem harems. There are uncounted millions of men and women and children growing up in the most degraded superstitions, and suffering in mind, body, and estate from inherited pagan customs. In the name of mere philanthropy and secular prudence Christian missions ought to receive a support, immediate, abundant, permanent, unflinching.

All that united Protestant Christendom together raises annually for missions would not pay the liquor bill of the United States for three days, nor that of the British Islands for two. At the opening of the century all Protestant Christendom expended only $250,000 annually for missions. It expends to-day $7,500,000 for that purpose. This is a large sum, you think. It is a bagatelle. The dissipations of Saratogas and Newports and Brightons would hardly find this sum worth mentioning in the hugeness of their expenses for self-gratification. The churches are penurious toward missions. We pride ourselves on having paid off great debts, and on having received some mighty legacies for missions; but I believe we shall be, as Ernest Renan says, "an amusing century to future centuries;" and one of the things that will amuse our successors on this planet will, undoubtedly, be our unwarranted self-complacency in this day of small things in missions. In China there is not an ordained missionary to-day for a million people. In the population accessible to the American Board there is as yet only one missionary for some 700,000 inhabitants. Modern Christendom has thrown one pebble into the great ocean of missionary effort, and stands with an

amused childish conceit on the shore of history watching the wide ripples produced by that pebble, and supposes that it is reforming the world. Another century will sneer at us for our conceit and our penuriousness.

After a tour around the globe, during which I met personally more than two hundred missionaries, how shall I summarize what to me, meditating often on this theme, in solitude and in company, by sea and by land, appear to be the more important facts, exhibiting our present duty toward Christian missions throughout the world?

1. In Bengal alone, out of a population of sixty-three millions, there are, according to Dr. W. W. Hunter, the government statistician of the Indian Empire, ten millions who suffer hunger whenever the harvest falls short, and thirteen millions who do not know the feeling of a full stomach, except in the mango season. ("England's Work in India." By W. W. Hunter, LL.D. London: 1881. P. 78.)

Apparent poverty is not always real poverty in Asia. Under the old East India Company there was sent to Calcutta once a committee of judges, to make investigations as to the execution of the Queen's desires in regard to civic affairs. One of the judges, as he landed on the banks of the Hooghly, saw multitudes of people, without shoes and stockings, and very thinly clad. He turned and said to his associate: "My brother, behold the sad effects of tyranny. Before we have been conducting our investigation six months, I hope these multitudes will all be comfortably clad in shoes and stockings."

Such a misconception as that is ludicrous to the last degree. Under the tropics poverty does not look as it does with us. But, when you think of families in Southern India, whose entire income is fifteen dollars a year; when you think of families in China who regard themselves as very well off if they have sixty dollars a year;

when you think of poor widows in India and China subsisting on grains and roots, with only a half-dollar a month; when you think what any considerable failure of the harvest may do in India and China, sending millions to death through famine, you must perceive that poverty, in spite of all the qualifications that are to be put upon our ideas when transferred to the East, is one of the kings of terror in the Orient.

2. In populations poverty stricken and often famished, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, almost alone among the missionary managing bodies of the world, is insisting on large or complete self-support by the native churches.

In Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Canton, Fuhchau, Shanghai, Kobe, Kioto, Tokio, and Yokohama, ten representative cities of Asia, it was my fortune to put to large gatherings of missionaries of all denominations and nationalities a series of questions on the religious condition of India, China, and Japan, and, among them, this inquiry: "Ought native Christians to be encouraged and instructed to give a tenth of their income to the support of their churches?" With not half a dozen exceptions in at least a hundred cases, missionaries outside the field of the American Board replied: "No, not yet;" but missionaries inside the field of the American Board said: "Yes;" and so did the foremost of their pupils and converts. One evening in Bombay, the second city of the British Empire (for Bombay is now larger than Calcutta, or than Glasgow or Liverpool), I was putting a series of written questions to a company of missionaries and civilians, and this question about self-support was among the inquiries. Scotch and English missionaries, one after the other, rose and opposed such a pressure as is brought to bear on native churches by instructing them to give a tenth of their income for the support of their pastor; but, finally, uprose a converted

Brahmin from out of the field of the American Board, and, in the most incisive, almost classic English, almost turned the feeling of the company in favour of the American plan. I had a similar experience in many a city, and I found the converts, especially the most intelligent of them, quite as emphatic in defending this system of self-support as the missionaries of the American Board themselves.

3. The American Board has the high respect of all other missionary bodies, because it leads them all, unless we except William Taylor's missions, in applying the principle of self-support. This Board is thought by its compeers in India and China to push this principle almost to an extreme, and is even criticized as too economical in regard to schools, church buildings, and the houses of missionaries.

It has been my fortune to be a guest in many missionary centres, and I have usually found that Scotch and English and German mission stations appeared to be much better equipped with means of giving a guest comfort for a night or two than the missions under the American Board. I have met American missionaries of the Presbyterian and of the Methodist type apparently much richer than those of the American Board. You say that, for once, at least, I am speaking like a Congregationalist, and am defending the managers of the missions of my own denomination. It is natural that I should do so, because they have been recently assailed for wasting the funds of the churches. I know that, in comparison with many other boards, they have been penurious. I know that they have pinched noble men and women in their efforts in Asia, in order that they might not expose themselves to the charge of lack of economy. I know that, if the American Board deserves any criticism at all, it is for being too close-fisted. That is precisely the criticism brought against it by its compeers in Asia. I do not

personally endorse this criticism; but, when I hear men saying that the American Board, the most economical Board on earth, is wasting the funds of the churches, I must be permitted, in the name of ordinary candour and manliness, to make a stern protest against this absurd charge.

4. In Japan the middle classes of the population have been reached to a considerable extent by Christian missions, and not a few native churches are already self-supporting. The same is measurably true in some of the older missions of Southern India, Egypt, and Asia Minor.

It is an amazing circumstance that, in 1881, the 1,200 church members belonging to the missions of the United Presbyterian Board in Egypt, most of them very poor men and women, raised £4,546, or more than $17 each for the support of churches and schools. The Baptists, among the Karens, have done equally well, and have recently contributed money to endow a college. At Kioto I studied with the keenest interest Mr. Neesima's collegiate school, which will one day, I hope, become the leading Christian university of the Japanese Empire. It contains at present 150 young men, half of whom are likely to become evangelists to their own people. The total grant in aid from the American Board to this school is only $160 a year. The membership of the nineteen native Japanese churches under the care of the American Board of Missions is now about one thousand, of whom more than two hundred were recently received. These members have contributed for Christian purposes over eight dollars each, a sum, as compared with the price of labour, equal to forty dollars in the United States. ("Brief Notes on Japan," by the Rev. J. D. Davis, of Kioto: *Mis. Her.*, Feb. 1883, p. 54).

5. When the middle class is reached in India at large,

and in China, as fully as it has been in Japan, the native churches may be expected to become self-supporting in an equal degree with those of Japan; but not before.

It is true that there are churches in Japan that have sent back funds to the American Board with the remark: "We need no more assistance." Why, then, should funds be sent to China and to India? The case is different in China and in India from that in Japan, chiefly because in Japan missions have reached the middle classes more thoroughly than they have in China and in India at large. Even when native churches undertake the support of their own preachers large funds may yet be needed from abroad for schools, printing-presses, and medical missions.

6. The Christian churches of the world should be satisfied with nothing less than sending out one ordained missionary for every 50,000 of the accessible pagan population of the world.

In the celebrated Madura Mission, in South India, probably the most effectively managed missionary centre that I personally studied, this proportion of labourers to the population has been the ideal, never attained indeed, but unflinchingly held up as the standard of duty. On the plan of three ordained missionaries to half a million in the foreign field, and one to one thousand in the home field, the whole world might be brought to a knowledge of Christianity within fifty years.

7. No Church ought to call itself thoroughly aggressive and evangelical that does not expend, for the support of missions at large, at least one dollar for every five it expends on itself.

I plant myself on these propositions, which, I believe, have the approval of great secretaries of missions—one missionary for every 50,000 of the accessible pagan population of the world; one dollar to be expended for missions for every five dollars expended for ourselves.

The foremost American authority on missions said to me: "Let the churches expend for missions one dollar for every five they expend on themselves, and we may hope to put the Bible into the hands of every son and daughter of the human race within a generation."

8. At present these standards of effort are to be insisted on with the utmost urgency; for the size of the accessible population of the world is increasing enormously out of proportion to the increase of missionary funds and labourers.

Speaking roundly, a man with the Bible may go anywhere on earth, to-day. Of course there are exceptions to this proposition; but in the great nations in the semi-civilized countries of the pagan world we may publicly or privately teach the Gospel almost everywhere.

9. Infidelity is occupying the field of the upper and middle classes. Imported unbelief, in many quarters of India, China, and Japan, is as great a danger among educated native circles as hereditary misbelief.

This proposition seems to me to be of the utmost importance, and is one on which my experience as a traveller has laid great stress. It has been my fortune to give lectures in the ten cities I have named; but I rarely felt it necessary to attack the hereditary misbeliefs of the audiences. My whole opportunity was, in most cases, used in attacking imported unbelief.

10. The ablest men are needed at the front; and such men have nowhere on earth to-day a wider opportunity for usefulness than in the great cities of India, China, and Japan.

11. Precisely the topics which are most often brought to the front in religious discussions in the Occident, between Christianity and unbelief, are those which are at the front in the Orient.

12. When the whole field is occupied on the plan of

one missionary for every 50,000 of the accessible population, the middle and upper classes will be reached and Christian native churches and missions generally become self-supporting.

13. It is evident, therefore, that the longer the churches delay occupying the whole field in this thorough way, the longer will be the effort needed and the greater the expense in the conquest of the world.

14. Great expenditures now will make great expenditures for missions unnecessary in a near future; but small expenditures now may make great expenditures necessary through a long future. Immense losses to missions have often resulted, and may yet result, from the churches not taking possession of critical hours.

We are honoured this morning by the presence of one of the great statesmen among the secretaries of missions. I feel impelled to take him by the hand in thought; I venture to take him by the hand in reality [rising and taking the hand of Secretary Clark], and to ask this assembly to unite with him in prayer for the whole world. Longfellow, in the last words he ever wrote, exactly described the condition of our earth to-day:

> "Out of the shadows of night
> The world rolls into light,
> It is daybreak everywhere."

God deliver us from dawdling at daybreak!

# INTERLUDE.

## Reply to Critics.

You will allow me to announce that I shall take the liberty to reply, next Monday, after the lecture, that is, in five minutes succeeding the usual time at which these services close, to the questions which were published in *The Advertiser* not many days ago. The author of the questions is Professor Egbert C. Smyth, of Andover Theological Seminary. Let me say, in the short interval now allotted me, that one or two very large newspaper blunders are being committed, for which I am not responsible. Some exceedingly conservative orthodox sheets regard me as a Universalist. The Rev. Dr. Miner, however, the chief New England champion of Universalism, has preached two sermons against my prelude. The Universalist *Christian Leader* has a most misleading leader of four columns directed against my views. These facts are excellent proof that I am not popular with Universalists. I cannot understand what Rip van Winkle edits a certain religious paper in this city—I will not name the sheet; for I wish to be courteous—which proclaims at the head of an editorial paragraph: "Probation after death is the newest heresy, and Joseph Cook is its prophet." That paper might have said, with equal accuracy: "Slavery is the newest heresy, and Wendell Phillips is its prophet." *The Christian Advocate*, I believe the most widely circulated religious paper in the United States, with fifty or seventy thousand subscribers, at least, prints that prelude without a word of protest. Here

is the *New York Independent*, which does the same, although I do not always agree with *The Independent* in all matters of theology. Perhaps it is worth while to say that *The Independent* itself falls into an important mistake in affirming that there is only a difference of five minutes between the theory advocated here and the theory of Dorner. Some writer who wished to say a witty thing has said a thing half profane. I am told that the difference between my theory and that of Dorner is, that my doctrine is that a man may repent after breath, while Dorner's is that he may repent after death. I cite this to show you how frivolous and even shocking a newspaper remark may be when brought before a serious assembly. Many an editor writes things anonymously, which he would never think of uttering face to face with a grave audience. This topic should be discussed on our knees. Every one knows, who has looked into Dorner, that he believes that the opportunity of accepting Christ lasts until the Judgment Day. I have taught only that death, when it is foreseen, does usually produce an arousal of conscience, and that sometimes, before the eyes are closed to earthly things, they do appear to be open to spiritual things. In most cases death is a great spiritual experience, and it involves decisions for or against any light it brings. I believe in probation in death, or at death, whichever phrase you please to employ; and I repel as utterly unworthy of scholarship any charge that this is not an orthodox doctrine. Even the venerable Dr. Pusey taught it in his reply to Canon Farrar; and Pusey was almost a fossil, as everybody knows, in his old-school positions. The danger of teaching this doctrine I perceive as clearly as anybody does; but I taught it with the most emphatic cautions and qualifications, which have often been left wholly out of the condensed reports, for which I am not responsible.

A few Universalist critics say that I have been bringing forward guesses. Yes; but there is a great difference between a negative guess and an affirmative guess. To guess that probation does not close at death, and to lean on such a negative guess, is the hugest insanity. But an affirmation guess that probation may end at death is enough, under the dictates of practical wisdom, to make us repent now. Everything depends on which side of our chances of peace in eternity these guesses lie. An affirmative probability or possibility, even if it amount to no more than proof that death *may* end probation, is enough to make it my duty to repent this instant. Much as I abhor guesses on the negative side of the subject, it is evident that, in bringing forward guesses on the affirmative side, I was logically justified in my procedure. Some newspaper critics of the anonymous species will turn a pyramid upside down, and pretend that it represents correctly the position in which its builder left it. Usually newspapers have the last word; but I have so organized this lectureship in its present form that I mean to have an intermediate word occasionally.

I have the utmost respect for the gentleman to whom I am obliged to make another reply, Dr. Miner. I have been a pupil of his in matters of temperance propagandism for many years. I look with reverence upon his record as a philanthropist; but I differ from him entirely in regard to eschatology, and especially in relation to the philosophy which underlies his doctrines concerning punishment after death. To make the whole matter short, let me say that Dr. Miner maintains that freedom of the will is lost when character is in a state of final permanence. This, he says, is the fact. Well, then, I say, God Himself has no freedom of will. Dr. Miner affirms that, where character is permanent, the freedom of the will is lost. I reply that God's character is permanent, and that

the freedom of His will is not lost. Dr. Miner says that mere reason cannot show that a soul may not change its character after death. I admit this. But the question is not whether it *may*, but whether it *will*, change. I admit that even Satan *may* repent. Origen taught this, Burns taught it, and I will not object to their doctrine, if presented merely as a possibility. Even in the case of the worst of lost souls freedom of the will endures, otherwise there can be no sinning; for, without freedom of the will, as we all know, there can be neither virtue nor vice. But the question is whether the soul that has hardened and blinded itself to the degree that is here in discussion *will* repent. Take a Fagin and a Sykes in the pages of a Dickens. They can and *may* repent; but the master who drew their spiritual portraits does not lead us to expect that they *will*. Iago, in Shakespeare, can repent, he *may* repent; the question is whether he *will*. I must beg Dr. Miner to place emphasis upon three very important distinctions, which he seems to overlook: First, that between *may* and *will;* second, that between *certainty* and *necessity;* and thirdly, that between *ability to repent* and *willingness to repent*. The *Christian Leader* amazes me by saying that this last distinction is one utterly incomprehensible. I had supposed that, in the business world, even, it is well understood that there is quite a difference between a man's ability to pay his debts and his willingness to pay them.

Dr. Miner, and those who follow him, should keep more frequent company with one who is supposed to have known something of human nature—William Shakespeare. This author, through one of his characters, exhorts a certain other character to repentance; but seems to doubt whether repentance is possible. The passage is not partisan authority; but it shows how permanent unwillingness to repent may arise under natural law.

> "Let me wring your heart,
> If cursed custom has not brazed it so
> That it is proof and bulwark against sense."
> *Hamlet*, iii. 4.

However awful the fact, it is scientifically known that sinning against light blinds us to the very illumination needed to rectify our condition. Dr. Miner says I overlook the discipline of the infinite God. The natural laws by which judicial blindness comes to the soul are God's laws. They reveal His righteous judgment here. I am so far from forgetting them that, by day and by night, I stand in awe of them. He does blind all who sin against light. He does it, who is infinite in holiness and infinite in tenderness. You know that He does it. When the blinded soul drifts into permanent dissimilarity of feeling with God, it drifts into perdition. Evil steadfastness of character is as much a fact as holy steadfastness. As a great American theologian has said: "There is as much proof that the evil will persist in their choice as that the good will persist in theirs." As Julius Müller has said: "Such is the constitution of things that unwillingness to goodness may ripen into eternal voluntary opposition to it." This is undoubtedly one of the most terrible truths of the universe; but it is also one of the most indisputable.

# LECTURE.

## IV.

## ADVANCED THOUGHT IN GERMANY.

PROFESSOR ZÖLLNER, of Leipsic University, is regarded by Spiritualists as their Newton. I purpose to prove this morning that he was not a Spiritualist, but rather a Biblical demonologist. I am aware that I am walking over burning ploughshares; but you will remember that I am stating the opinions of others, and not my own. As to my personal convictions, I have already had opportunity of being heard on this platform, and my own thoughts on this topic are unchanged. I am yet precisely in the attitude concerning spiritism in which I stood when I discussed the whole matter here as a gigantic "*perhaps*," as nothing more than an "*if*," a hypothesis, worth, perhaps, some attention as a means of guiding us into knowledge of the unexplored remainders of the human constitution and as a reply to Materialism, but as not yet having reached the dignity of scientific proof that spirits, good or evil, exist and now communicate with men. I call myself a vehement anti-spiritist; for I deny that there has ever been given scientific proof of the reality of spiritistic communications in our day; and I of course deny the trustworthiness of any such alleged communications. The man who makes both these denials is an anti-spiritist, however much he may be anxious that the topic should be investigated for the sake of putting an end to enormous mischief in half-educated circles.

## Partisan Feeling.

On the topic of what Professor Zöllner called transcendental physics, partisan feeling was rolling up mountain waves in the university life of Leipsic men when I visited that city. I took much pains to inform myself as to all sides of the case, and was fortunate enough to make the personal acquaintance of Professor Zöllner, and of his great opponent, Professor Wundt. As to their contest, I conferred with Professor Ulrici, of Halle, Professor Delitzsch and others, of Leipsic, and many more whom I do not care, for reasons of courtesy, to name. Professor Zöllner had been described to me in London by Slade's persecutor, Dr. Ray Lankester, as a recluse, suffering from a repulsive disease on one side of his face, and as having few pupils and no reputation in the university. I found, after an introduction to Professor Zöllner, that this picture is a highly-coloured partisan caricature. It is true I was able to buy photographs of nearly all the other professors, but could not find a picture of Zöllner, and so was obliged to call on the man with no portrait of him in my mind except Lankester's. I took an English edition of the Boston Monday Lectures on Spiritualism with me. Perhaps this audience will allow me to say that this volume, which never has been issued as a book in America, has been pretty carefully analyzed again and again by conservative authorities abroad, and that the positions taken in it on spiritism have not been denounced. I believe one or two conservative authorities in this country misapprehended some of my positions, and tried to raise the cry of heresy; but even more conservative authorities abroad, when they have seen the lectures in consecutive order and in correct reports, have not been thus misled. In Calcutta the substance of this book was circulated by missionaries as an antidote to Spiritualism among the Hindus.

## Professor Zöllner.

Professor Zöllner lived with his mother on Gellert Strasse in Leipsic, a bachelor, in a stately house of the German style. In a study, not palatial, but most convenient and spacious, he received his visitor; and the cordiality of the man, his ability, and his balance were noticeable at the first glance. He speaks English with considerable freedom; but our conversation was chiefly in German. Professor Zöllner was born in 1834. He is a man somewhat above the medium height, rather thick-set, of slightly stooping but vigorous shoulders, head of good size and shape, brunette complexion, dark eyes, and hair of tolerably fine texture. His predominant expression in face and bearing is that of a cheerful, enthusiastic, and incisive intellectual courage. He impresses you at once as a man of mental power, and also as one of geniality and social warmth. The German words *Heiterkeit* and *Gemüthlichkeit* describe the predominant moods which he exhibited when I saw him. It is true that the right side of his face is enlarged, and the cheek and mouth look as if he had some object of the size of a small apple between the teeth and cheek. There is, however, little or no discoloration of the complexion, and, so far as I could learn, no disease except this enlargement. His mother, otherwise a woman of rather distinguished appearance, has an unfortunate wen or tumour on the left side of her face. Why do I go into these matters? Because a man like Ray Lankester can stoop to an attempt to disgust you with Zöllner by mentioning some little personal defect with which he was born. In Professor Zöllner's conversation you soon forget the blemish with which he was brought into the world. In this photograph [showing a picture] the likeness is so taken that the unnatural shape of the cheek is not prominent. The head, you notice, is full

and round in all its departments, and may fairly be presumed to be the seat of that balance of faculties which we call common sense. Ray Lankester's picture of Zöllner, and other pictures I had had drawn of him by his heated German opponents, I came to regard as mischievously dishonest.

Among other inquiries which I made of Professor Zöllner was the question what he thought of various recent German books on spiritism. I obtained from him a list of German volumes on transcendental physics and related themes; but it was a short one, and I was particularly pleased to find how well winnowed it was. Even in Germany many poor books have been issued; but there is no such deluge of rubbish on this matter as in English, and especially in the United States. After a great deal of conversation about German writers on his themes, Professor Zöllner invited me to call on an American spiritist, who was then in Leipsic, but whom I shall not name here. This American had a reception given him in London, and no less a man than Alfred Russell Wallace, the great naturalist, affirmed publicly that his claims were worthy of attention. Recommended thus, he came with his wife to Leipsic, and brought with him a volume which I suppose has not been published, although it has been copyrighted, entitled "The Christian Spiritual Bible." I will not name even the author of a copyrighted book when the volume seems to have been circulated privately thus far; but I must mention the character of the book, and I must tell you what occurred in my interview with this gentleman in presence of Professor Zöllner, in order that I may show you what his attitude is concerning our American spiritism. This man was the son of a distinguished professor in the United States, who was once an Atheist, but afterward became a Spiritualist and a vigorous defender of his new faith. The man who issued this book

is a person very far from having the appearance of a fanatic. I would not mention this case in detail, if he had not been a person apparently of judicious mind. He is a lawyer, and he conversed with Professor Zöllner and myself in the coolest manner. You know the English temperament endures in this country wherever the rainfall is heavy; for instance, in Maine, in Virginia, in Kentucky, and in the Champlain Valley. This man was of the English-American type, and seemed to be very unlikely to be misled by any excitement, emotional or imaginative. Nevertheless, he claimed that he had received from his father, the deceased professor, a Bible which is to supersede the old one, and that the proof-sheets of this book, in the presence of several persons, had been dematerialized, taken in an invisible state into the other world, corrected and sent back, and that, therefore, there could be no mistake about the revelation. [Sensation.] Now, I wished to see how a dose of characteristic American spiritistic medicine would operate on the sound intellectual stomach of a German professor, and, therefore, I consented to accompany Professor Zöllner to an interview with this redoubtable representative of modern revelations.

### The "Christian Spiritual Bible."

The blasphemous claim is made in the "Christian Spiritual Bible" that, in a closed camera at Terre Haute, Indiana, a photograph was taken of our ascended Lord; and here in this book, a copy of which I hold in my hand, is a picture which claims to have been produced from a negative obtained in that camera. But, as gentlemen in the rear can see [Mr. Cook was holding the book open toward them], the picture is nothing but a reproduction of a common lithograph, which, I presume,

many of us have seen again and again in the print-shops ever since we were boys in our teens—the exact face. The claim is further made in this volume that photographs in closed cameras have been obtained of all the apostles, and of most of the great characters of religious history, as materialized in a glorified human form. It seems blasphemy to repeat these words; but that is the style of book which was presented to Professor Zöllner as resting for its authority on the spiritistic communications of which he had confessed the reality. I supposed the author of this book, from all that Professor Zöllner had told me of him, to be one of the most extravagant of the wildest tribe of American spiritists, and I agreed to call on him chiefly that I might see what Professor Zöllner would say in regard to this wildness. This man considered himself the representative of his father's present advanced wisdom, and as the instrument employed by the higher classes of spirits for the introduction of enlarged views of Christianity into the world. I was shocked and alarmed by the claim which he made that, through the aid of the Terre Haute, Indiana, medium, he had frequently seen the risen Saviour of mankind, and had been entrusted through him with this spiritual Bible, with copies of which he was to enrich German professors. The work was to be given away, and, after some changes and improvements, was to be published in America. He wished distinguished men in Germany to send him questions, to which he believed he could obtain answers from the same oracle from which all his other information had been obtained. I had the most vehement disrespect for that oracle, of which in America I had heard only evil, and I could hardly keep myself in a mood of social courtesy as he went on describing what he had learned there, and at other similar American shrines.

I am not speaking quite at random in noticing this topic of the "Christian Spiritual Bible;" for the latest spiritistic fashion is to produce Bibles of this kind. I had given me the other day the prospectus of a mighty book, as large nearly, as one of our pulpit Bibles, containing revelations which, it is claimed, are to supersede Christianity. Perhaps I had better mention the book here, in order that some of you may be warned against it; for I have no doubt the country will be permeated by agents selling the volume in certain circles. It is called *Oahspe*, and is represented to have been written by the dictation of angels through a certain New York medium. It is not worth buying, even as a literary curiosity; for I have spent some time on the volume, and might have brought it here this morning; but I did not think it worth producing even as a specimen of rubbish. It is worth mentioning, however, side by side with this other "Christian Bible" of the spiritual sort, in order that you may see from the floating of these air-bubbles which way certain currents run. The bubbles amount to nothing; but the currents amount to much.

In the interview with the American spiritualist, as I wished to see the effect of nonsense on Zöllner, I remained as quiet as I could. Our expounder spoke only in English; but Zöllner understands this fairly well, and he maintained a most surly silence as the flood of the lawyer's talk went on. According to this Spiritual Bible there have been four incarnations of our Lord; the first in Isaac, the second in the author of the Bhagvat Getta, the third in Sakya Muni, and the last in Christ. Our Lord, therefore, personally taught the Old Testament religion and also that of the uncorrupted Indian Scriptures, as well as that of the New Testament. In the latter only the Gospels are to be taken as wholly authoritative representations of religious truth. This man had seen his father, as a

materialized spirit, transform water into wine. Some of the manufactured liquid was shown to us in a vial. Besides the photograph of the ascended Christ, which had been obtained in a closed camera, at least twenty other photographs of the leaders of the world's religions in past ages had been obtained in the same way. Zöllner plainly grew more and more impatient as this narration proceeded; but the personal appearance of the narrator and of his wife was so respectable that we could not, at a first interview, venture to call them dupes to their faces. Alfred Russell Wallace, as we were reminded, had indorsed the claims of this American as worth attention, and it appeared to be his object to obtain some good word for himself from Zöllner; but he did not get it. In my presence Zöllner politely excused himself from acceding to the rather urgent demand that he would distribute copies of the Spiritual Bible to several learned men in Germany.

And now notice what followed this interview. I shall never forget the ten minutes which succeeded this conversation, when Professor Zöllner and myself were alone. The moment we were out of the room, and walking together on the street, Professor Zöllner, with German warmth and enthusiasm, took your lecturer by the arm, and burst forth into a denunciation of the atrocious absurdity of building convictions like that of the man we had just seen on such evidence as had been placed before us. I said little; for I wished to see what the natural posture of Professor Zöllner's mind would be under the circumstances. I wished to observe how the huge and nauseating dose which had been administered would act on his intellectual stomach. It was a most powerful and swift emetic. Zöllner admitted that he had himself witnessed enough to make the theory that spirits can assume a material form credible to himself; but he thought that all we had heard was better evidence of the fact of modern

demoniacal possession than of anything else. "One revelation is enough," said he; "and our conscience and reason are given to us to be used here and now with all caution and courage, no matter what comes to us from other spheres of existence." His idea was that only a man utterly unscientific and really lacking in common sense could give credence to communications such as are contained in that volume.

### The Moral Mischief of Spiritualism.

It was as a Christian Spiritualist that Zöllner had been approached by this representative of American revelations, and it was as a believer in Christianity and as a man of science that Zöllner repelled the pretensions of the "Christian Spiritual Bible." I finally told Zöllner that what we had heard was not an extravagant representation of much that American Spiritualists are familiar with in speech and in print. I enlarged on the moral mischief Spiritualism is doing in various quarters of my own country, and on the desirableness of some scientific explanation of its alleged fact as a means of preventing the spread of poisonous opinions and practices among thoughtless and ill-informed people. Zöllner had lately had many correspondents, who had sent him news from America, giving rose-coloured views of the condition of Spiritualism there; but for the mass of letters which had reached him he expressed only intellectual disdain and moral disgust. I told him what I could of the obscure but terribly real underground work of Spiritualism in America, and of the horror which its practical effects as a religious faith inspire even in many who think its phenomena worthy of scientific investigation. Zöllner admitted frankly that, to his mind, the existence and agency of evil spirits were much better proved than those of good. The

author of this book, to which Zöllner's attention had just been called, had denounced the mass of American Spiritualists as "the dupes of earth-spirits or demons," and Zöllner seemed inclined to think the author himself a similar dupe. The emetic worked with such power that I had little doubt left of the intellectual health of Professor Zöllner's mental stomach. Nor did I wonder at his disgust at finding himself quoted as an authority by Spiritualists of a type with which he has not the slightest affinity.

Next morning, I called on Zöllner at his rooms, and he showed me the larger part of the original records of his famous experiments. I saw the cord in which abnormal knots were tied; the doubly and trebly sealed slates, between which messages were written; the pieces of coin which are said to have passed through a table in a manner supposed to illustrate the suspension of the laws of the impenetrability of matter; the straps of leather knotted under Zöllner's hands in a way explicable, according to Zöllner, only by the supposition that space has a fourth dimension; the impressions of two feet on sooted paper pasted inside two sealed slates; the uninjured wooden rings which were placed around the standard of a card-table; and, finally, this table itself, a stout structure of varnished beechen wood, which, according to the account given of one of the experiments, wholly disappeared, and then fell down from the top of the room in which Zöllner and other persons were sitting. The chief facts, or alleged facts, which are detailed in Zöllner's scientific treatises, as observed by himself and Professors Weber, Scheibner, and Fechner, he described to me with much minuteness, with the original instruments before us to make the explanation more vivid. He insisted much on his theory that there is a fourth dimension of space, and said that, if he were to continue his experiments, it would be to

substantiate this position. From mathematicians and philosophers of various schools he had collected many testimonies in support of this theory, on which he relied for the explanation of many physical phenomena, like the penetrability and disappearance of matter. Zöllner's whole manner in discussing his experiments was circumspect and candid, and yet marked by a degree of natural enthusiasm awakened by the vast possible issues of discoveries in transcendental physics.

Let me part from this theme by describing a sacred scene. Professor Bruhns, a distinguished astronomer of Leipsic University was buried while I was in the city; and, under the blossoming orchards around his house, it was my fortune to be standing in a crowd near Professor Zöllner, when his mind was greatly solemnized by his recently having parted from an honoured colleague. I said to him: "Professor Zöllner, what does your science of transcendental physics lead you to believe as to the Christian miracles?" I remember that there, under the blossoms of the summer, with that corpse lying in its coffin not far from us in the parlour where Professor Luthardt was delivering the funeral oration, Zöllner turned and said, in the presence of many: "The reality of the Christian miracles, as indubitable historical facts, is my deepest scientific conviction." More than a dozen times he said that to me, privately; but I remember with especial distinctness his remark there at the edge of the grave, into which he has since gone himself.

Zöllner stood in all our conversations on definitely Christian ground; yet he was not regarded as an active member of any church in Germany. I suppose, of course, that he had been confirmed in his youth, and was a member of some State church; but he was by no means considered as a leader of religious life in Leipsic. I have summarized his views in seven propositions as to the

moral and religious bearings of the facts of psychical science.

ZÖLLNER'S VIEWS SUMMARIZED.

1. The only safe guide in dealing with Spiritualism is the Bible.

2. Modern ages are in need of all the scriptural warnings against necromancy and commerce with evil spirits.

Professor Phelps has published an article with the title: "Ought the Pulpit to Ignore Spiritualism?" and his answer is, "No." I showed that article to no less a man than Professor Christlieb, who brought it back to me and said: "I indorse every word of it." I have heard him teach his own theological students that demoniacal possession is a modern fact. I am giving his opinion, not mine. "Keep your eyes open," he said to me, "and when you are in India study this topic of magic and sorcery and demoniacal possession. Ask veteran missionaries if they do not think there is something like demoniacal possession on the earth to-day." I have done that; and I have found that in about seven cases out of ten these veteran students of paganism say they do believe in demoniacal possession, and that they can distinguish such cases from cases of disease; but about three out of ten have told me that such cases collapse on investigation.

3. Scriptural views as to good spirits Zöllner held as well as to evil spirits; but he insisted that modern facts, which prove the existence and agency of the former, are few and far between.

4. The existence of evil spirits and the possibility and actuality of their communications with men he regarded as a demonstrated reality in our century.

5. The outcome of transcendental physics he firmly

believed will be the destruction of the anti-supernaturalistic philosophies of our day.

6. He was confident that it will also be the justification of scriptural views of miracles, inspiration, and prophecy.

7. That the supernatural, in the biblical sense of the word, is a reality, he described as his deepest scientific conviction.

Professor Zöllner closed our protracted interviews by impressive reiterations of his opinions on all these points and of his confidence that his views could not be successfully attacked, either on scientific or on biblical ground. His opponents, he admitted, were many and influential, but their criticisms amounted to little in presence of the combined testimony of Weber, Scheibner, and Fechner to matters of fact. Luthardt, as a great theologian, was a believer in demonology, and so were many of the professors of theology in Germany; and yet Zöllner felt himself obliged to complain of the uncandid attitude of Christian teachers toward his reassertion of what he conceived to be simply the biblical view of good and evil spirits. His hearers at the university, he admitted, were few at present; but he hoped he had some hearers in the world at large. In the arena of science, in spite of determined opposition, he believed that Professor Crookes, of England, and himself were and would continue to be victors in maintaining that there is scientific modern evidence of the existence of good and evil disembodied spirits. He thought that the only safe practical or scientific attitude toward Spiritualism is the biblical one, and that the field of Christian apologetics will find in another century an accession of a new host of facts rendering more invincible than ever the high fortresses of Christian truth, which have so often seen battle, but never defeat. At the end of our last interview, Professor Zöllner, in the

clear morning sunlight, sat down at his organ, on one side of his study, and played and sang Luther's hymn: "*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.*" I was to see him no more on this side of the grave. A few months later, under the Southern Cross, news came to me that he had passed into the world into which all men haste.

# THE PRELUDE.

## American and Foreign Temperance Creeds.

The law of averages, as exhibited in the experience of life assurance companies during the last forty years, has once for all triumphantly justified the temperance principle of total abstinence. Among serious and thoroughly well-informed persons debate is over on this matter. Yes, my luxurious friend, yes, my moderate drinker in the pulpit, you are marked men, because benighted and belated. When I was in London, I took much pains to ascertain exactly the facts as to the experience of British life assurance societies in making a distinction between moderate drinkers and total abstainers. Every one knows, or ought to know, that for nearly half a century now many of the best life assurance societies of England have insured moderate drinkers and total abstainers in separate sections, and that *a bonus has been paid to the sections made up of total abstainers of seven, thirteen, seventeen, and in some cases twenty-three per cent. over that paid to the section of moderate drinkers.*

## The Law of Averages.

Here are a few commercial facts of the largest philanthropic significance. I have in my possession an original letter of one of the foremost societies for life assurance in London, and the statement is contained in it that for fifteen years the society has been accustomed to pay every five years bonuses to its two sections—that is, to the

total abstainers, on the one hand, and to the moderate drinkers, on the other—and that the result has been during the past sixteen years that there have been issued 9,345 policies on the lives of moderate drinkers, that is, of those who are not strictly abstinent in the use of alcoholic liquors and 3,396 on the lives of total abstainers. Of the former 524 have died, but 91 only of the latter, or less than half the proportionate number, which, of course, would be 190. Less than one-half the number of abstainers have died, compared with the number that died among non-abstainers who were strictly temperate, and this is an experience of sixteen years! I hold in my hand the circular of a very celebrated life assurance society, which I shall not name, for fear you will say I wish to advertise it, although it is not an American society; and I read in this official document that in 1872, 1875, and 1878 the bonus to the temperance section was 14 per cent. higher than in the general department, while the bonus for 1881 in the temperance section is 23 per cent. higher. I will name a single one of the great life assurance companies in England, because its reputation is well established, and I cannot be suspected of having any improper motive for giving its career publicity. I refer to the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution. In England its experience is often cited to show the superior value of teetotal lives, as compared with those of moderate drinkers. The institution insures members in two sections, one in which all the members are total abstainers; in the other, moderate drinkers; all intemperate persons being, of course, excluded. The two sections are exactly alike in every other respect, about 20,000 lives being insured in the General Section, and 10,000 in the Temperance Section. Returns of the expected and actual claims in both sections for fifteen years, from 1864 till 1875, show that

in the General Section 3,450 deaths were expected, and that 3,444 took place; whereas, in the Temperance Section the expected deaths were 2,002, and the actual deaths only 1,433. During the year 1879 the expected claims in the Temperance Section were 195 for £40,844; the actual claims were 164 for £28,690. In the General Section 305 were expected for £64,343, the actual having been 326 for £74,950. The quinquennial bonuses in the Temperance Section have been 17½ per cent. greater than those in the General Section.

To summarize details which I might easily make voluminous, the experience of nearly forty years, and the insurance of more than 100,000 lives in societies making a distinction between temperate non-abstainers and total abstainers, have proved that under the law of averages a bonus of from seventeen to twenty-three per cent. must be paid to the sections of total abstainers.

Where is the church, where is wealthy society, where are our circles of culture and advanced thought, where are our serious and intelligent young men, that they are not awake to these stern facts of mere business? I have been citing to you not temperance documents, but the reports of life assurance societies. They are not fanatical organizations; they are not governed by this or that pet theory as to temperance reform. Here is cool, stern business sagacity applied to one of the most complicated commercial matters, and the outcome we have in this great proposition, sustained by the most exact application of the law of averages, that nearly twenty-five per cent. bonus must be paid to total abstainers above what is paid to moderate drinkers. Of course, many of these total abstainers have not been such for all their lives. Their health may have been injured in many cases by early indulgences. By-and-by, when these societies come to have sections filled by men who have been total abstainers

from birth, the average of bonuses will be higher to the temperance sections. You ought also to keep in mind constantly that the section not total abstaining is not a section of drunkards, but a section of those who are merely moderate drinkers, respectable men, most of them only wine drinkers.

For one, I regard this state of the facts concerning the law of averages in life assurance societies as altogether the most incisive argument that can just now be named in support of the principle of total abstinence. I have in my possession original letters from secretaries of life assurance societies in the northern and southern hemispheres. I refrain from citing a single American life assurance company, because I will not weaken this argument by allowing you to suspect that I have been asked to publish these facts. I beg you to investigate this matter carefully for yourselves. The law of averages in life assurance societies is now the pedestal of adamant on which stands triumphant for all future time, in the name of science, the abused and once even humiliated principle of total abstinence.

### Moral and Legal Effort.

British and American temperance methods and creeds differ somewhat, to our disadvantage. Undoubtedly, we have carried the legal remedies for intemperance further than Europe has done. No portion of the foreign part of the world that I have visited has shown me anything like our advance in temperance legislation. I do not know that any portion has gone beyond what we have in some past times attained in the use of the moral methods of repressing intemperance; but at present we are fanning the air with the legal wing of the temperance reform, and seem to have forgotten the moral wing in large degree. Great Britain at the present moment is

more emphatic in her church efforts for temperance and more emphatic in her efforts to produce, through secular temperance organizations, a right impression on the masses of the population than we are. I wish to lift a note of warning against trying to fly the temperance cause with one wing. Whenever we have used only the legal wing or only the moral wing, the flight of the temperance cause has been a sorry spiral. It always must be such under similar circumstances. In the temperance reform we have mere agitation pitted against avarice and appetite. Appetite and avarice are both constant forces; agitation is a spasmodic force at best. It requires great assistance from Almighty Providence to get the attention of a whole state or nation, and when you have obtained this it requires great assistance to keep the drowsy public attentive long enough to carry an election. Agitation in Church and State is our chief force against the solid ranks of the whisky rings and against the impassive brutal forces of appetite. With a fifth of our population in cities, I beg leave to say that there is not a feather in either of these temperance wings that we can dispense with. One of the most mischievous things in the temperance cause appears to me to be the fight of the feathers with each other; not only wing with wing, but feather with feather in a single wing.

I had thought of putting upon this board (referring to a blackboard in front of the speaker's desk), and perhaps I had better do so, a graphic illustration of what I mean by two wings. (Taking the chalk, Mr. Cook drew a representation of two wings, saying, as he did so): If that is the right wing, or legal wing, I should call the lower feather of it the civil damage law; then I should say above that we have local option; and above that we have legislative prohibition; and above that we have constitutional prohibition; and above that we have woman's

temperance vote. And now, if on the other side, I must outline, in reverse order, the five feathers of the moral wing, I should put, first of all, at the top, church temperance organisations; I should put next the efforts of secular temperance societies of all kinds; I should put next, temperance instruction in schools, and, next, the example of what we call the leading classes, among the highly educated or the very wealthy; and I should put last, business prudence, or your desire to be relieved from taxes caused by the ravages of intemperance. What I assert is, that we cannot fly without the use of all the feathers in each of these wings, and that it is suicidal policy to try to fly without a fair and bold balancing of both these wings at once. The temperance cause cannot make the circuit of the earth unless both the moral and the legal wings are used together, and constantly in the atmosphere of free institutions.

### Business Prudence.

Look for an instant at the smallest lower feather of the moral wing—business prudence. I put in one hand all the money we spend for our civil service. It is an enormous amount; about four hundred millions a year. Will that weigh down what we spend for liquor? I put in this right-hand scale the liquor bill of the United States, and the left-hand scale goes up. I add to what we pay for the civil service all we pay for the Army; the left hand goes up yet. All we pay for the Navy; it goes up yet. All we pay to Congress, including the river and harbour appropriation bills; it goes up yet. All we pay to State governments; it goes up yet. All we pay to county governments and to city governments; this scale, with all these weights in it, goes up yet. I add all we pay to town governments and for common school edu-

cation out of the taxes on school districts, and yet this scale goes up. The National Census Bureau informs us that about 700 millions is the amount put into the left-hand scale under the circumstances I have named; but the most careful statisticians say, and the *New York Tribune* brought these facts before the public not long ago, that at least 800 millions is the annual liquor bill of the United States. That is one feather of this mighty wing. I undertake to maintain unflinchingly what Mr. Gladstone has said, that the intemperance of the Anglo-Saxon races, especially of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Americans, has injured us more than war, pestilence, and famine. We are the most drunken nations on earth. It is not too much to say that if we could shake off intemperance as thoroughly as the Hindus and Turks have done, we should probably double the income of the United States and of the United Kingdom. I am not declaiming. I insist upon it that these are carefully verified statistical results of our recent investigations. The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics has affirmed solemnly, in an official document, that intemperance enters as a leading cause into eighty-four per cent. of the crimes brought to the notice of the law in this State; and yet his Excellency, the present governor of Massachusetts, did not do himself the honour of mentioning intemperance when, lately, in a long message, he passed a fine-toothed comb through the hair of this Commonwealth in search for abuses.

### Constitutional Prohibition.

Not to go into detail through all the five different departments of each wing, but asking this intelligent assembly to develop for itself, face to face with our possible American future, every one of the minor portions of my theme, I pause for an instant, on a comparatively

new temperance measure. I believe most thoroughly in constitutional prohibition. I have spoken for it on the platforms of Kansas and Iowa when it was a beleaguered cause. It was my fortune once, in the public park of Topeka, with Governor St. John as chairman, to defend this cause, when it was exceedingly unpopular; and yet I felt that the future was in it. I do not know how it is that on this seaboard we sometimes do not now seem to feel the throb of the mighty future of the Republic as our fathers did, and as people do yet on the Mississippi. Does the breadth of the West inspire great ideas? We, too, have broad outlooks. We have a great river running past our wharves. We call it the Atlantic Ocean. We ought to be able to look across it and see that our temperance example is doing good or evil to the ends of the earth. But the upper half of the Mississippi Valley appears to have a more intense care for the future of its population than we have for that of ours. It listens to the tramp of the coming generations. The sound of centuries yet to be is in the ears of Iowa and Kansas. There is a mighty rustle on the prairies in favour of antidotes for one of the hugest evils of our civilization. The two young States which possess the fattest portions of our continent are making up their minds that they will not allow the cancers of the whisky rings to eat into their vitals. No temporary defeat will tame the reformatory spirit of these commonwealths. They are leading our nation and the world in temperance legislation. For one, I believe that, if a score of the American states succeed in putting constitutional prohibition on a firm basis, it will ultimately become a national policy. There are at least ten States in the Union whose legislatures are now being petitioned vigorously for constitutional prohibition—Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Illinois, Iowa, Ohio,

Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts. We have, thank Heaven, about twenty States that are not yet under the heel of great and corrupt cities. As agitation for reform goes on, they may possibly pass constitutional prohibitory laws and make them effective in practice. Let ten States succeed with constitutional prohibition, and ultimately a majority of the States will succeed. Let the day come (and may God speed it) when constitutional prohibition shall be the law in a majority of States of this Union, and we will make it a national measure. You say this is a wild hope. Constitutional national prohibition is too great a blessing to expect from commerce, from philanthropy, or from politics. It is not too great a blessing to expect from the Christian Church.

What is the matter with the Church in this country? We are all under the voluntary system; and sometimes men who are tipplers carry large bags. I am in no pulpit. I am a friend of the pulpits of the country, and am proud of the courage of our ministry; but, if I must tell the whole truth, as I try always to do, I shall be obliged to say that, in certain luxurious circles, especially in the great cities, there is a large amount of wine drinking, in what are called the upper portions of society, and it is hard to preach total abstinence. It is hard to illustrate it by personal practice. It ought not in this country to be hard; but I fear it is getting to be harder than it was a few years ago for a minister to defend unflinchingly total abstinence in the presence of the more luxurious members of his congregation. There are some men who love to be called evangelical and thoroughly genuine in their Christianity, who will have their wines in large variety, and sometimes stronger liquors than wines, on their tables. This is not true merely of the Pacific Slope;

it is true of the Mississippi Valley, the Middle States, and even of New England. These great obstacles to the progress of the temperance cause we must uproot decisively by a tornado of popular sentiment rising outside the luxurious churches. You cannot expect such churches to reform themselves. The people at large must breathe out their indignation against men who stand in the high places of the church and rent their property for the infamous purposes of the whisky ring. They must breathe out their indignation against high social examples, set in defiance of the dictates of science, and even of the commercial experience of our time.

### Church of England Temperance Society.

Why, the Church of England Temperance Society, not a fanatical body at all, has two sections—one for total abstainers and one for moderate drinkers. But when it organizes a Rescue Section and sends agents down into the slums to recover drunkards, it insists always that these men shall take a pledge of absolutely total abstinence. I say that not only every preacher, but every church-member, rich or poor, and most especially if his position as an employer of labour makes him a trellis-work over which many lives run, should be a member of the rescue section of society. This English Church Temperance organization, with a double basis, is now being imitated on our shores. That most honoured veteran in the temperance cause, William E. Dodge, I believe, gave the imitation his blessing in New York, the other day, after hearing Bishop Clark's public defence of it. I cannot quite give it mine. I do not believe in its pledge as to moderate use of alcohol. I never should organize a temperance society

on that basis myself. Nevertheless, I cite this movement in the Church of England Temperance Society to show you that, although it is not fanatical and has a double basis, it always puts total abstinence into its rescue work. It insists on the pledge of total abstinence for the young. Let us stand on this lofty example. Our soft society, connected with fashionable and wealthy ecclesiastical establishments, dearly likes to know what is the sense of the upper ten thousand in the ecclesiastical world. The sense is total abstinence for all who go into the rescue work of society; the sense is total abstinence for the young; the sense is that the preacher who invites the young convert to his table has no right to put before him the intoxicating cup. A great preacher in London was defending his wine-drinking to me; and I said: "Suppose John B. Gough were a poor inebriate in London, and were to be converted, which church would it be better for him to join —yours, where you set him the example of moderate drinking, and where you put before him, at your own table, intoxicating liquor, or would it be better for him to join Mr. Spurgeon's church, where the pastor sets the example of total abstinence?" That argument touched him, although he was invulnerable to every other. That is the argument we are to apply, under our free church system, to the conscience of every man and woman who would belong to the rescue section of religious society. Let us make every feather of the moral wing and of the legal wing of the temperance reform broad and strong. Let the two smite the air side by side, and so support each other, and carry this majestic cause proudly through the vexed atmosphere of history. By-and-by woman's temperance vote will be to the whisky rings what lightning is to the oak.

# LECTURE.

## V.

## OPPONENTS OF PROFESSOR ZÖLLNER'S VIEWS ON SPIRITUALISM.

SCIENTIFIC supernaturalism is a star yet below the horizon in the sky of exact research; nevertheless, I believe it to be a star which is sure to rise, and which will probably illuminate the terrestrial as well as the celestial outlook of the next century. Do I think that Spiritualism is to be one of the forces which may bring this new light to science? I dare not affirm that it will be or will not be. I make no predictions. I promise myself nothing on this point. According to my judgment, no scientific evidence exists to prove that Spiritualism is now really more than an *if* and a *perhaps*. I am inclined to think that the topic is worth investigation—not by everybody and anybody, but by experts; and, if you please, this, according to my reading of the signs of the times, is the best judgment of the more sober circles in the candid parts of society. I am an anti-Spiritualist, because I think there is already evidence enough that if spiritism should ever turn out to be anything but a *perhaps*, it would be simply a set of proofs that the biblical doctrine concerning evil spirits is true to the facts of modern experience. Undoubtedly good spirits are all around us. On biblical authority, I believe that we are surrounded by a cloud of witnesses in the invisible world; and I am perfectly willing that this should be shown to be true on modern evidence also, for I am not at all alarmed by the prospect that a new revelation will come out of these chatterings and peepings which have for centuries been before the

world, and have produced nothing worth mentioning seriously, except moral disorder.

The trustworthiness of so-called spiritistic communications has been disproved over and over; there is really no scientific evidence of their reality; but, granting their reality, there is predeterminate effort, apparently, on the part of any disembodied agencies that communicate with us to prove that their own communications are not trustworthy. The supernatural is more than the superhuman; and, if I were to grant you the reality of the alleged facts of spiritism, they would prove only the reality of the superhuman, and not of the supernatural, in the biblical sense. I repel all the fear of those who think that to investigate this subject is to throw open the whole question of the trustworthiness of the Scriptures. It is not that at all; it is not that in the mind of serious investigators of this topic, of whom there are not a few in England and Germany. It is not that at all in the mind of the great theologians in Europe, who, as I happen to know, are many of them believers in the fact of demoniacal possession in our day. Let the fact be proved. Let it be shown that there is scientific modern evidence of the truth in the biblical doctrine concerning good and evil spirits, and all that we shall then need to do is to teach these doctrines without abatement.

### Delitzsch on Spiritism.

But, my friends, I am exceedingly anxious that you should see that the opposition to any assertion of the reality of these phenomena is vigorous, acute, profound, and no doubt the most thoroughly so in the loftiest quarters. I have not looked at one side of this topic merely because I took great pains to meet the opponents of Professor Zöllner. Possibly I shall not be violating confidence if I

give you the opinion of a distinguished German professor as to what the present policy of the pulpit should be concerning Spiritualism. It was Professor Delitzsch himself, whose colleague Zöllner was in Leipsic University. I shall never forget his gestures, as he expressed his opinion. "This," said he, "is the proper attitude to take as yet concerning Spiritism," and he put his hands over both ears, and shut his eyes tightly and closed his mouth. If I were to shut my mouth, I should keep my eyes open, and if I were to shut mouth and eyes, I should keep my ears open. I suppose Delitzsch meant to be humorous. A full statement of his opinion would give a very different impression from that which you receive from this anecdote. Nevertheless, there is a great amount of this evasion of the topic in the world. I must say I regard it as unmanly, unscientific, and untimely. There is such enormous mischief being done by Spiritualism that we have no right to shut on this topic either ears, or eyes or lips. For one, I propose to assert liberty for all three of these organs, and especially for the human reason and conscience in the examination by the scientific method of any facts that may come before us.

### Prof. Wundt on Zöllner.

Professor Wundt, of Leipsic, is the great opponent of Zöllner. The result of our conversation gave me nothing with which to rebut Zöllner's claims as to matters of fact. I asked for references to the best German literature against Spiritualism, and I beg you to notice that the only reply I received from this chief antagonist of Zöllner was that the ablest and most conclusive reply to Zöllner, anywhere made as yet, was that by our American Stanley Hall, who lately was a student at Leipsic. Most of us know what Stanley Hall has said; and, if that is the best

that can be said against Zöllner, I, for one, think the topic is yet worthy of investigation. I have high respect for Stanley Hall; I am very thankful for many facts which he has brought to our knowledge; but nobody here regards Stanley Hall's reply as adequate in this case. I asked Wundt if Zöllner was to be considered insane. I was very much interested in the answer that Wundt—not forgetting his honour—would make to this inquiry, and did not think more highly of the man when he cringed a little and said, rather lightly, that since the publication of his last volume of scientific treatises, Zöllner must undoubtedly be considered as probably crazy. I had heard it vehemently asserted by two or three irresponsible private students at Leipsic that Zöllner had one or two relatives who had been insane at some distance back in his line of ancestry; but I could procure no definite facts whatever to show that Wundt's light charge had behind it a scintilla of evidence. When a man brings forward a statement of this kind, and does it lightly, the talk is a boomerang, such as the savages in your country (turning to the gentleman from Australia who had offered prayer) use and smites the thrower. When I told him that I had seen Bellachini, the court conjurer of the Emperor William, perform his best exploits, Wundt went on to affirm that the feats of this magician were as inexplicable as those of Slade. "I cannot explain what Bellachini does," said Wundt; "nor can I explain what Slade does and what Zöllner and three or four other scientific German professors say they saw." I asked him if he supposed the affidavit of Bellachini, that he cannot explain what Slade does, was genuine; and he replied that he believed it was. The document was quoted everywhere and Bellachini had never denied its authenticity. I happened to have a copy of the affidavit with me in the appendix to the English edition of Zöllner's

"Transcendental Physics," and I called Wundt's attention to the document. As I handed him the book, he saw Zöllner's name on it, and asked what book this was, and cringed again, in a peculiar way, as he read the title-page. He admitted that many German theologians believe that there is modern evidence of the existence and agency of evil spirits; but these teachers, he thought, were only half enlightened. The secretary of Du Bois-Reymond had explained and paralleled Slade's slate-writing. Prof. Wundt believed that the knowledge how this trick was performed was for sale in Berlin, at a high price. Ulrici, who had at first discussed, with much earnestness, Zöllner's facts, was now, according to Wundt, disposed to withdraw a little from his earlier positions, and to represent Spiritualism as a question, indeed, and a scientific question, and yet as only a question.

### Slate-writing Probably a Trick.

Just here let me pause to say that I am rather inclined to believe that what is called slate-writing in spiritistic circles is a trick. Nevertheless, I have never seen any good proof that it is a trick, and I am searching for such proof. Many of you have found it, perhaps, and are perfectly satisfied that the feat can be explained. I know that a kind of slate-writing is produced by conjurers and performers of the art of legerdemain; but in Germany, though many such imitations have appeared, none of them seem to be accepted as really genuine parallels. I have myself seen slate-writing produced under circumstances which I once detailed before this assembly, and which persons who were experts in that investigation pronounced inexplicable at the time by any theory of fraud. We did not say there was no fraud in it; we did not affirm that it was not

a trick; but we said that we could not explain it. Although inclined to think slate-writing a trick; I deny the applicability to that case of any so-called exposures of which I have heard. It is said that the very psychic who performed this writing in my presence has been exposed by certain reporters in Chicago. If so, I rejoice. No man is likely to be more glad than I am to have such a trick thoroughly uncovered. I have heard that, on the platform of this very temple, a gentleman who did not *Wait* afterward for advice, when he absconded with certain funds of the church over which he was settled, exposed this writing. It may be he did; but a gentleman who saw what I saw in the house of Mr. Epes Sargent was not satisfied that the case was parallel at all. He is a gentleman of high mental training, of the coolest judgment, and a most pronounced Antispiritist. I will not name the gentleman this morning, although he is a friend of mine and my family physician; but he published over his own name a statement that the exposure on this platform was really no exposure at all of what we saw. He does not state that what we saw was not a trick; but he asserts his belief that the trick has not yet been exposed. Let us expose fraud mercilessly; but let us be perfectly fair. Let us see to it that we are not doubly swindled—first by tricksters among the Spiritualists, and then by tricksters who expose the tricksters. I rejoice in the efforts of all honest exposers of spiritistic mediums.

### Dr. George M. Beard's Death.

Let me be serious here, for I stand at the edge of a grave containing one who was dear to me as a brother. He was just entering upon what I hoped would be the most splendid part of his scientific career. It seems to

me only yesterday that I saw him in vigorous health, full of intense anticipations concerning the progress of his own researches and laying the widest plans for the future. Europe knew him. Some of his volumes had been translated into the German tongue. I suppose him to have been the most profound student of nervous diseases that the ranks of our younger medical men contained. He was a prolific author and was rapidly transmuting the more hasty work of his early years into the solid work of his maturity. Seized by pneumonia, my class-mate, my room-mate, my friend, Dr. George M. Beard, of New York City, has passed into the world to which all men haste. I have the most pathetic joy, in the midst of my tears, in repeating before this assembly his last words: "Let some one take up and carry on my investigations."

Do not accuse me, in these circumstances, of wishing to repress efforts to expose all the subtleties of fraud in connection with spiritistic circles. There is no more glorious work into which Spiritists themselves can enter for the benefit of their own cause than to do this, and certainly they should be seconded by the keenest wisdom of the medical profession. I would have America imitate Great Britain's step: organize a dialectic society, like that of which Sir John Lubbock was the chairman, and put into it some of the best men who can spare time to expose spiritistic tricks and half-truths thoroughly for the purpose of putting an end to mischief of enormous proportions among those who believe in the trustworthiness, as well as the reality of alleged spiritistic communications. I would have the work of my friend in carrying on the study of trance and various diseases of the nerves, pushed forward until we have a science of the nervous system. We do not possess it yet, and it is time in our age of the world, that the unexplored remainders of the human constitution should be illuminated, if pos-

sible, to the last fraction. It may be that we shall find in them nothing more than we now have, or even less; but in Heaven's name let us explore the unknown in our own organisms.

### Professor Ulrici's Cautious Views.

I dismiss this topic by mentioning Professor Ulrici's opinion of Spiritualism, and it is a most conservative and cautious one. He affirms that neither Professor Christiani nor Du Bois-Reymond's secretary, nor any one else, to his knowledge, has ever explained Zöllner's alleged facts as to slate-writing. All Germany would ring with the explanations if any real ones were given. He regards Spiritualism, however, as only an "if" and a "perhaps" a scientific question, indeed; but nothing more than a question. He believes that it is *not* well for students to spend their time on this matter, for they are likely to be misled. Only the very best experts are safe when they enter on this path. He would dissuade average citizens of any country from entering into the *séances.* He would not cultivate spiritualistic knowledge as a popular matter; but he would have elaborate investigation concerning it made only by men thoroughly equipped as experts. What good does he expect from even their investigation? Precisely the good which has been prophesied often on this platform: first, the exposure of fraud, and, next, the discovery of any important truths yet veiled from us in the unexplored remainders of the human constitution. He believes that we do not need any more evidence of immortality than we now have from the Scriptures and from reason. At least they who are believers in the Scriptures and in the supernatural voices of conscience, need no more evidence; but materialists may need more. What Zöllner called transcendental physics, Ulrici thinks of

great importance in the current conflict with materialistic, atheistic, and agnostic doubt. (See the *New Englander* for 1882, and January, 1883, for translations of Wundt's and Ulrici's articles on Spiritism.)

SUMMARY.

To summarize, then, this whole discussion as to advanced thought in German philosophy:

1. Professor Zöllner had and has vehement opponents in the highest circles of learning in Germany; nevertheless, his alleged facts have reached the ear of science in Europe.

2. What is needed is a repetition of his experiments and thorough researches in the whole matter, in obedience to all the verifying laws of the scientific method.

It was my fortune to assure Professor Zöllner that Americans do not believe in the psychic he employed; that we regard him as a cheat; that we have proved him over and over to be in many things a fraud; and that England came near putting him in jail for practising jugglery. "Very well," said Professor Zöllner, "here in Germany Mr. Slade always acted as a man of honour." I said: "The world does not believe in him. Your supreme duty to science is to repeat your experiments with some one who is not under suspicion and in circumstances wholly above the charge of fraud."

3. It has not yet been scientifically proved that the so-called slate-writing is not a trick, and the claim is frequently made in high quarters that it has been performed by methods of jugglery.

4. Professor Zöllner was not a believer in the trustworthiness, though he was in the reality, of spiritistic communications.

5. He ought not to be called a Spiritist, but rather a biblical demonologist.

6. He believed that the Bible is the only safe guide as to our theories concerning spirits, good and bad.

7. He was a thorough believer in the biblical doctrine of the supernatural. He regarded the progress of psychical science as certain to confirm among men of science faith in the supernatural in its biblical sense.

8. *If it should ever be shown, as it has not been yet, that Zöllner's alleged facts were real ones, the only scientific conclusions that can be deduced from them are those Christian ones which he drew from them.*

I part here from Germany with a full heart. In the next lecture we shall be in Italy and in Greece. As I look back from the summit of the St. Gothard Pass, let me lift up my hands in thankfulness to Almighty God for the freedom, the earnestness, and the breadth of research which characterize the best universities of the Fatherland. Much scepticism, undoubtedly, has come out of Germany; but the antidote to it has been provided in Germany, also, by the most careful study. Here the mythical theory arose; here it was wounded to the death. Here came up the haughty claim, concerning myths and legends, that they are capable of explaining all that is called supernatural in the New Testament history; here that theory has been cut off level with the ground from the very roots on which it stood expecting perennial life. In this Germany there is a certain amount of obscure, mystical thinking; there are torpid churches enough; but the heart of the country, the heart of its learning is sound, because truly loyal both to clear ideas and to spiritual purposes. The blood of the Reformation is in Germany. The head of a Melancthon, the heart of a Luther—I believe these can be harmonized with the head of a Helmholtz, a Kant, or a Lotze. As I looked back from the Alps on Germany, seeking for some soul large enough to comprehend Luther and Melancthon and Goethe and Helmholtz, whom

could I take? No one is large enough to comprehend all these souls; but I left German soil carrying in my hands one of the works of Jean Paul Richter, largest soul of German literature, profoundly Christian—not in all respects what I could wish in his convictions as to religious truths, but a soul so large that a denial of immortality appeared to him to be philosophical lunacy. You put together Melancthon, Luther, Goethe, in his age, Richter, Kant, Lotze, and Helmholtz, and in these seven, as you look back from the Alps, you see a German constellation fit to lead the ages.

## REPLY TO PROFESSOR SMYTH.

### SHALL ORTHODOXY BECOME SEMI-UNIVERSALIST?

PROFESSOR SMYTH is a gentleman in a most influential position, and has the respect of all New England for his scholarship and piety. He was my teacher—not in dogmatic theology, for that is not his specialty, but in ecclesiastical history. He is the brother of the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, of New Haven, Connecticut. I do not know that Professor Smyth wrote the series of questions I am about to answer. The rumour is, that two or three hands were employed in their preparation; but Professor Smyth says that he is responsible for them. In a note, over his own name, in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of January 24, he calls my attention to a series of questions published in that paper, January 13, and especially to a series published January 20, and adds: "For that, with the first, I am responsible."

My thesis, which is quoted in the communication to the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of January 13 is proposition fifteen in my prelude of January 8: "Every responsible human being, by the gift of a free will and a conscience, or by this gift and that of the knowledge of the Gospel besides, having had a fair chance or more than a fair chance, the Divine love and mercy are not questionable; a perfect Theodicy is possible; the ways of God to men are justified." Upon this Professor Smyth asks a series of questions, which I now read, one by one, from his printed copy and answer:—

1. "What part is assigned to Christianity in this Theodicy?"

The same as in the Theodicy of Leibnitz, or Julius Müller, or Jonathan Edwards, or N. W. Taylor, or Professor Park, or Professor Fisher. A Theodicy is a vindication of the Divine justice in ordaining or permitting natural and moral evil. To vindicate the Divine love and mercy is more than to vindicate merely the Divine justice. Christianity does the former, and so, of course, it does the latter. Christianity shows that the Divine love and mercy are not questionable, for it exhibits a Divine atonement which provides opportunity of pardon for all men whose repentance is genuine, and this provision is itself such an exhibition of the Divine perfections as to be the most powerful motive to repentance. Making the readiness of God to do more than justice requires thus evident, Christianity makes His readiness to do what justice alone requires superabundantly evident.

2. "Does the phrase 'fair chance' cover anything besides conscience and freedom?"

Intelligence, with social and moral appetencies and affections, or the moral equipment of a human soul in a state of sanity, go with freedom and conscience, and so, too, in average cases, the light of nature and experience. "The Gentiles having not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law. These, having not the law, are a law unto themselves, their consciences bearing witness." "As many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law" (Rom. ii.). "For the wrath of God is revealed from Heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men who hold the truth in unrighteousness." "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath showed it unto them. The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are *clearly* seen, being understood by the things that are

made, even His eternal power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse" (Rom. i.). The Scriptures teach unqualifiedly that all responsible beings, whether they have received the written law or heard of the historic Christ of revelation or not, have had a fair chance. *My definition of a fair chance is the biblical one in all its details. The fundamental vice of Dörner's eschatology is that it underrates conscience, belittles the majesty of the human faculties and of the moral law revealed to all men through nature, and fails to point out with any adequate emphasis the awfulness of the responsibility which is laid on the soul by that law alone.* His definition of a fair chance is, therefore, at once unscientific and anti-scriptural, and this is the *fons et origo* of the mischiefs of his teaching in eschatology.

3. "Does it refer to the possibility of avoiding sin, or to the opportunity of recovery from sin? To the action of a moral agent *per se* or to the recovery of a prodigal son?"

To both.

4. "If to the former, does not this possibility continue after death?"

The mere *possibility* does, for freedom continues; but to prove that the soul *may* repent after death is not to prove that it *will*. May and will, certainty and necessity, ability to repent and willingness to repent, must be distinguished from each other most carefully at every point in the discussion of eschatology on grounds of reason. On grounds of Scripture, I hold that the exegetical researches of centuries have justified the orthodox opinion that probation in its strict sense ends at death.

5. "If the latter, does not this opportunity include supernatural agency?"

Yes, for it includes provision for deliverance in this life from the guilt of past sin.

6. "Do the words 'more than a fair chance' refer to a legal or a redemptive system?"

To a redemptive system, in the sense of one including the influences of the atonement.

7. "If the latter, is not this system universal as respects the human race?"

Atonement is universal; redemption is limited. The question seems to confuse atonement, or the provision on God's part for man's pardon on certain conditions, with redemption, or the acceptance of those conditions on man's part. If the question means: Has not the atonement made possible the pardon of the sins of the whole race? it is to be answered in the affirmative.

8. "If it is universal, do not the heathen have more than a fair chance?"

Yes, in some sense, though not in the full sense. Their pardon is provided for on the basis of the atonement, provided they really follow and love all the light they have. "In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him," but through an atonement. The heathen live unconsciously under a system of grace.

9. "Is 'a perfect theodicy,' as respects God's 'love and mercy' possible, except on the basis of a remedial system?"

A perfect theodicy is possible without an atonement. It is a first principle of New England theology that the vindication of the justice of God does not depend on His providing an atonement. He is not obliged either to atone for or to redeem men, in order that He may prove Himself just. He would be just even if He punished all men as they deserve. The question is ambiguous, for it is not clear what the writer means by a remedial system. If he means a redemptive system, including an atonement, the answer is in the affirmative. Perhaps the writer

means to imply that it is impossible to justify God in permitting or ordaining moral or natural evil, unless atonement or redemption be general.

A remedial system of a certain breadth is involved in the Divine government of the universe according to natural law. If only this remedial system existed, the Divine justice would not be questionable, nor would the Divine love and mercy. The best pagan philosophy—as that of Plato, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, and Epictetus—supports this proposition; and so does the Old Testament theology, as that of Job and Psalms. God's superabundant love and mercy are fully exhibited, however, only by the remedial system revealed by Christianity.

10. "Is it possible on the basis of a limited atonement?"

Atonement is general; redemption is particular. The atonement is not limited. It is possible, however, without any atonement to vindicate God's love and mercy, as the apostle does in Acts xiv. 15–18. Redemption is limited solely by man's own choice. If this question is not a confused one, it points towards Universalism, for it suggests the idea that it is impossible for God to be just without making an atonement.

11. "Is it possible on the basis of an equally limited operation of the Spirit?"

The gift of the Spirit in converting power is an act of grace, and not of justice. But the influences of the Spirit are given in some measure to all responsible human agents, and if these influences are followed a greater measure is given. All who have conscience have the general influence of the Spirit; and all who yield utterly and gladly to the guidance of the innermost voice of conscience may expect the special influences of the Spirit.

12. "If 'it is the sight of an atonement which is the chief force in producing the new birth' (*Prop.* 10), and if

probation for all ends at death (*Prop.* 14), how are 'God's love and mercy' vindicated in view of the fact that thus far the vast majority of the human race have had no such vision in this life?"

This question is answered by the replies already given to questions two, seven, eight and nine. God is under obligation to give all men a fair chance, but not to give all or any more than a fair chance. God's love and mercy are vindicated by the Scriptures, on grounds which apply to all who have merely the light of conscience, nature and experience.

13. "When it is said 'Whoever permanently rejects . . . . the innermost voice of conscience rejects . . . . the essential Christ (*Prop.* 1), what is the force of the word permanently'? Does it refer to an outward fact, a change produced by physical death, or to a moral change? Is the first act of moral agency decisive for eternity, if death immediately intervenes?"

Whoever rejects the truth as revealed by conscience and the Holy Spirit acting through the moral sense, and does not repent of his rejection; this is the meaning of the word permanently. It refers to a moral change, and its consequences under the systems of both law and grace.

The soul that decides once against God continues to be against God until it repents. The Scriptures hold out no offer of grace after death. A soul that does not repent before death, nor in death, of the one evil choice here in question, is losing its day of grace. "He that offendeth in one point is guilty of all." This is both a scientific and a biblical truth.

14. "In such a case is the permanence arbitrary or rational?"

Rational, of course, for there is nothing arbitrary in the divine, natural, or supernatural dealings with the

soul. There is a probation before death and there is probation at death, and it is rational to expect that he who passes both these without repentance will never repent.

15. "If arbitrary, how is this fact consistent with 'a perfect theodicy'?"

Nothing connected with the salvation or perdition of the soul is arbitrary.

16. "If rational, how under the conditions of moral agency (which include free personality) is a permanent moral state produced by physical death?"

No permanent moral state is produced by death, considered merely as a physical change.

17. "Or, is the permanence, in case of a wrong choice, due to this choice, *plus* the withdrawal of supernatural aid?"

The permanence of an evil moral choice rests on the choice itself, after death, as well as before. But after death the permanence is reinforced by the withdrawal of such supernatural aid and opportunities of grace as are given to men during life. The fact of such withdrawal is a revealed truth.

18. "If so, how is the provision of a universal atonement harmonized with a use of it limited so far to but a small fraction of the human race?"

The limitation of the use of the atonement is wholly due to man's evil choice not to repent. How is the provision for science harmonized with the ignorance of men?

19. "How does a theodicy which is compelled to assert such a withdrawal from many millions of human beings *justify* 'Divine love and mercy' and 'the ways of God to men?'"

By showing that God gives to all men a fair chance or more than a fair chance. He does all He can wisely

do for every soul without destroying its free will, and judges every soul according to its use of its opportunities. What God does not do could not be wisely done by Him.

This question is another instance of confusion of thought, or else it implies that God's love and mercy cannot be justified, unless there be a universal redemption or, at least, a universal atonement. This is a ground principle of Universalism.

20. "If infants are not moral agents (*Prop.* 13), on what ground is it 'to be hoped that in death, at the sight of God's face, they will acquire entire harmony of the soul with Him?' (*Prop.* 13). What reason is there to think that *in articulo mortis* they become moral agents? Is the change from 'not moral agents' to 'moral agents' effected 'in death?' Or is the development after death? If so, what becomes of the universal proposition? 'Probation in its strict sense ends at death?' (*Prop.* 14). Is more than one-half of the human race under this law? That is, may their probation be after death?"

The least and perhaps all that can be said of those who are not moral agents in this life is that they are in the hands of the Judge of all the earth, who will assuredly do right. Infants are not moral agents, and, therefore, have not sinned, and, therefore, do not deserve to be punished. As being born with latent evil propensities, they need a Redeemer, and they have one; but in this case there is nothing in the Divine justice to prevent our hope. Because infants have not sinned, in the sense of putting forth evil personal choices, we are confident that they are not placed among the wicked after death. It is said of children that of such is the Kingdom of Heaven, and that in Heaven their angels do always behold the face of the Father. Whether their

acquisition of entire harmony of soul with God is effected in death or after death, their destiny at death is not to be presumed to be uncertain. *Probation, in its strict sense, implies uncertainty of result. There may be progress and preparation of the souls of infants after death, but not probation in the strict sense.*

21. "Does not Mr. Cook look at the whole subject now under a turban, now under a hat; now on the basis of principles of moral agency legally rather than religiously understood, now on the basis of a redemptive system; with an unconscious transition, back and forth, *ad libitum?* Is such a method 'hugely' scientific; or, rather, is it not?"

This is another instance of confused ideas. What is meant by the phrase, "legally *rather* than religiously"? God's laws are *all* religious. Now on legal principles, now on the redemptive system. The proposition was: "Every man has a *fair* chance *legally* or *more* than a fair chance *graciously*." The distinction between the two systems is steadily kept in view throughout the discussion.

These twenty-one questions contain nothing formidable; but I must now answer seven more, which are published in the *Advertiser* of January 20.

1. "Does Mr. Cook understand Paul (2 Cor. v. 10) to include under 'things *done* in the body' things done after the breath 'leaves the body'?"

In the experiences of the soul at death occur some of the most important things done in the body. Paul, in the passage referred to, includes them. "Be thou faithful unto death" is a frequent exhortation of the New Testament Scriptures.

2. "Mr. Cook refers to Paul being 'caught up to the seventh (a slip of the pen) heaven' (the apostle was con-

tent to call it the third), and adds: 'The soul, before it is separated from the body, may very probably hear unspeakable things.' Does Mr. Cook think the case analogous? If so, how is he able to transcend the wisdom of the apostle, who said 'Whether in the body or apart from the body I know not. God knoweth'? Did Mr. Cook get this knowledge, too, 'in being thrown twenty feet down a rocky bank in a sleeping-coach on a swift railway train?"

Paul's soul in the experience here narrated was able to return to his body, and it is to be presumed, therefore, that it was not wholly disconnected with the body at the time of the experience; but, if a nearly total release from the body brought this experience, then a partial release may bring an experience partially like it. The marvellous quickening of memory and conscience, in many cases, in those who are near death or expect instant death, is a fact of science, *and will not be spoken of lightly by anyone who has ever observed it, either in another or in himself.*

3. "Mr. Cook cites Matt. xxv. 43 as confirmatory of his position that men are to be judged for their conduct here, and also of his use of 2 Cor. v. 10. Does he suppose that the soul, after breath leaves the body, is able, *in the body*, to visit prisoners, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, etc.?"

In moral principle, yes; but it must be understood here that the qualifications I have repeatedly insisted on in connection with the case described are all kept in view.

4. "Or, does he suppose that the apostle, in his allusion to things done in the body, may include things done in the 'spiritual body'? If so, how does the text support the proposition that probation ends with death?"

The text is rightly interpreted as referring to deeds done in our physical bodies, for death is to be defined as the separation of the soul from the physical body.

5. "Mr. Cook deems it 'in the highest degree probable that souls are divinely illuminated by death, and thus are brought to final permanence of character.' He also affirms that 'it is the light of the atonement which is the chief force in producing the new birth.' How far is this in principle from Dr. Dorner's position that final permanence is reached through a decision in view of atoning love?"

Dorner's system of thought supposes that a soul reaches a permanent moral state *only* by a view of atoning love as seen in an actual presentation of the historic Christ, and by accepting or rejecting this presentation. The seven objections which I have made to this system have been published. It is one thing to assert that conversion among those to whom the Gospel is preached is produced *chiefly* by a view of the atonement, and another to assert that in the case of all human souls, in this life or the next, it is produced *only* by it.

6. "Mr. Cook characterizes Dorner's eschatology as 'bewildering,' 'narrow,' 'reversionary,' and 'hazardous to the souls of men.' Will he explain why it is so much safer to teach a probation after breath than a probation after death? [A full reply to this point had been given in Mr. Cook's remarks before his lecture.] Is an opinion founded on indications of Scripture and on the finality and absoluteness of Christianity, that men who have not rejected God's character and love as revealed in Christ here will have opportunity to come to a final decision, in view of His claims before coming to His bar, likely to produce more painful results than the well-nigh baseless speculation that impenitent men generally may have an

opportunity in death and make a final choice, under supernatural light and an 'unutterable series of voices from the seventh heaven'?"

The difference is between the limitation of opportunity to life and death, and its extension to the uncounted ages of an intermediate state between death and the general judgment.

7. "Is this extension of probation by Mr. Cook anything less than a confession that the old theory with which he starts is moribund and already out of breath? Why does he introduce into the discussion a speculation unsupported by a single text of Scripture, and peculiarly liable to perversion? It is because he would hold on to a transient, perishing formula, indigenous to theology and not to Scripture, and yet would not and cannot resist the pressure of principles which transcend it. To Mr. Cook, as well as to Dr. Dorner, it seems congruous with Christianity, and with reason, that probation be defined in the sphere of character. An arbitrary limit is unlikely and requires for its acceptance the clearest proof. Mr. Cook realizes this, and so would put into death all the powers of the world to come, all the regenerating forces of the Gospel. The attempt is a flag of distress."

I have not extended the period of probation beyond death, and so have not exceeded the limit of the Scripture as interpreted by orthodoxy. I have exhibited simply the solemnity of death in many average cases, and the results which must be expected to follow under natural law from resisting the voices of conscience when it is aroused by the king of terrors.

As to these questions in general, it is to be noticed that:—

1. They frequently confuse together atonement and redemption.

2. They confuse distributive justice with other Divine attributes.

3. They belittle conscience, present no proper idea of justice, or of the dignity of the moral law revealed in Nature, and of man's responsibility as a free agent under it.

4. They insinuate principles which lead to Universalism.

5. They are open to the seven objections made in the Monday lecture of January 8, to Dorner's eschatology.

6. They seem to be all the result of an inconsequent method of reasoning or of obscure and blurred ideas.

7. If they are not the result of simple indefiniteness in thinking, then they are an indication of real heterodoxy.

Having answered twenty-eight questions for which Professor Smyth is responsible, I now venture to put to him four. Andover is not the object of my criticism. I am endeavouring to protect it. I have made diligent inquiries, and, so far as I can ascertain, Professor Smyth is the only teacher now in the Theological Seminary at Andover who would be willing to make himself responsible for the assertions and implications connected with these questions. He has made himself responsible for them. I do not know another Professor at Andover who would do as much. My questions are solely to my questioner.

1. How far may a man endorse Dorner's eschatology, and yet intelligently and honestly subscribe the Andover Seminary Creed in its original and historic sense?

2. How far may a man endorse Dorner's eschatology, and yet intelligently and honestly subscribe the Andover Seminary Creed for substance of doctrine?

3. How does Professor Smyth reconcile his responsi-

bility for his signature to the Andover Seminary Creed with his responsibility for the assertion, in connection with these questions, that the orthodox doctrine of the limitation of probation to this life is a "moribund," "perishing, and transient formula?"

4. What alterations in the standard of New School teaching of New England theology as to Probation, Inspiration, and the Atonement, would meet with Professor Smyth's approval?

# THE PRELUDE.

## Probation at Death.

Immediate, total, and affectionate self-surrender of the soul to God is demanded of all responsible human beings every instant by conscience, which is the voice of God. Postponement of obedience is disobedience. All delay of surrender to God is rebellion against God. The Divine summons is incessant, and refusal to obey it is nothing less than incessant rebellion. Thousands and millions of times in a single week or, it may be, in a single day the Divine voice within the soul whispers *Thou oughtest*, and the soul answers *I will not*. Choices are as multitudinous and as instantaneous as thoughts; but the thoughts of a single day no man can number, and yet conscience judges every choice and all the secrets of the thoughts of the heart. A continuous evil predominant choice implies a continuous series of subsidiary evil choices; and so the evil choices of an evil man succeed each other with the rapidity of thought. It is the repetition of actions that makes them habitual. Repetition is the hammer which forges the chains of habits, and our own free choices wield the hammer. The supreme word of reason, therefore, speaking in the name of practical wisdom, is Now. The supreme word of conscience, speaking in the name of Eternal Right, is *Now*. The supreme word of the scientific school and of the scriptural school in theology is *To-day*. The supreme word of the siren school of every form of false liberalism is *To-morrow*, a more convenient season, or, possibly, *the intermediate state*. Incessant repetition of rebellious revolves in response to incessant

solicitations from the divine voice of conscience, must ultimately, under natural law, fix character in the sense of making its moral state permanent.

But, as New England and all sound theology has taught for centuries, when the soul puts forth its first evil choice it takes sides against God, and, so far forth as depends on itself, it does in that single predominant intention, in that initial moral resolve to rebel, put itself into its spiritual grave. Unless God exerts the special influences of the Holy Spirit upon such a soul, it will never rise out of its grave. The soul that decides once against God remains against God until it repents. It is the teaching of accredited theological science that we have no reason from Scripture to believe that a soul that has sinned even once against God will repent, unless God especially draw it, renew it, and lift it out of death by a spiritual resurrection.

It is, however, my special office here to insist on the relations of religious truth to natural law; and, therefore, I emphasize the fact that he who is incessantly saying, *I will not*, while the Divine voice says, *Thou oughtest*, is fixing his character under those mighty natural laws by which habit propagates itself, and by which sinning against light blinds us to the very illumination needed to rectify our condition. Hold unflinchingly to the first truths, the fundamental, primary religious verities, that similarity of feeling with God is necessary to peace in his presence, and that the longer we live in dissimilarity of feeling with him, the longer we are likely to do so. It is self-evident that we must love what God loves and hate what He hates, and that otherwise there is no possibility of peace for us in His presence. It is utterly indisputable, also, that the longer we live in the love of what He hates, and in the hate of what he loves, the longer we are likely to do so.

Such being the stern facts which constitute the framework of my discussion, I now raise the central question: What constitutes probation by death seen at a distance, by death near at hand, and by death at its supreme moment?

1. Distant views of death have been disregarded, and their natural moral influence persistently resisted by any one of advanced or middle age who approaches death unrepentant.

2. Such persons as resist the natural moral influences of death, foreseen at a distance, may very naturally resist its moral influences when it is close at hand. It is the general experience of the human family at large, and even of average populations in Christendom, that most men of middle or advanced life die as they have lived. They usually pass out of the world remaining, to outward appearance, in the general moral state in which they have drifted through life.

3. In perhaps seven cases out of ten (and here I must appeal to the sacred experiences of the pastors around me, in their profound and close studies of human character in its great moral crisis) those who appear to repent, in view of death supposed to be near at hand, show by their lives, when they are delivered from fear of death, that their repentance was not genuine.

4. However glorious to the Christian and loyal soul, the discipline of death seen near at hand, and even in its supreme moments, is to the unrepentant soul one of fear chiefly. This, although the beginning of wisdom, is not the end of it. The moral motives, which include both the fear and the love of God, may be presented more powerfully to the soul in life than they well can be in death. The moral opportunities of a death-bed are not superior to those of health in those who hear the Gospel during life.

5. There is probation by comparatively near views of the mountain-range of death, and by the thought of what lies beyond it.

6. There is probation in close approach to this range.

7. There is probation in leaving the plain and ascending the slope of the range.

8. There is probation in leaving behind, once for all, the affairs of the world and the temptations of the flesh.

9. There is probation in ascending high enough on the mountain-range of death to have wide outlooks, in the breadth an elevation and seriousness of which the whole aspect of life is changed.

I figure to myself our passage through life to death as much like the crossing of the South American continent from Atlantic to Pacific, with the Andes in view at a distance. Occasionally, as Wordsworth tells us, we hear far inland the roar of the ocean on the east of life. It is long before childhood ceases to have intimations of immortality. Many a time on the height of our best experiences in youth we have wide outlooks, backward as well as forward. For one, I think those elevated experiences which come to comparatively uncorrupted young souls are full of really Divine voices and actually supernatural touches of the Holy Spirit. These influences may bring the soul into a natural religiousness, which is not Christianity, indeed, and not sufficient to save the soul: but it is a general preparation for the reception of the mighty truths of our holy faith. I believe, in short, with one of the great fathers of the Church, that the soul is naturally Christian. It usually appears such in the high moments of youth when youth is pure. This is true in the pagan world. It was true of the youth of Gautama, the Buddha, and of Confucius. Let us not say that it is true only of the youth of our race, for we have never done as much to produce great, original

religious movements in history as some other races have done. It is in man, as man, to remember whence he came. It is in man, as man, to find on the summit of his nature the place for an altar to Almighty God. Richter says that on every hilltop, in the summits of the loftiest natures of every nation, will be found an altar to the unseen personal God.

As we go on in life, we look across the Brazilian dusty plain, and there stand the Andes, the terminal experiences of death. We do not always see them while we are in the dust of the wayside. We are oblivious both of what is behind us and of what is before us when we are among the wild beasts of the forests. We lie down many nights, it may be, under the roaring tempests and the creaking boughs, under terrible tropical rains and lightnings, and listen to the thunders of the passing storm, and forget the rolling of the ocean on the East, and do not even ask whether there is an ocean rolling beyond the Andes at the West. But great moments come again. We ascend the hilltops; we have far, clear views of the terminal range. And then, sooner or later, we do come to the edge of that range. We perceive vividly that we are leaving the level plain of middle life; we ascend to the beginnings of old age and the outlook broadens. Sometimes sudden death gives us instantly an elevation to the height of this range, and the quick transition from a low plane of experience to an elevated one brings what seems to be, certainly what seemed to me on an occasion I shall not describe in detail, almost a supernatural movement of the soul. At any rate, the elevated thought and feeling natural to a near approach to death, make a great spiritual experience, and the soul must decide for or against any light that comes to it in this loftier view.

I am now speaking as if the Bible were shut. I am defending my central proposition that mere reason shows

that death may end probation. I need not prove any more than that to carry my main point, that repentance at this instant is the dictate of all practical wisdom. If I do not know whether a fortress in which I am placed as commander is to be attacked to-night or to-morrow morning, it avails nothing for a man to come and say: "I surmise that the attack may not be until to-morrow morning." A surmise on that side of the case is worthless. To lean on any guess of that sort would be insanity of the highest sort; but a guess on the other side of the case, even if it is only a guess, will govern my action. "I surmise," so the scout tells me, "that there may be an attack to-night!" I will be ready, in any event. "What I say unto you I say unto all: Watch!" So speak the Scriptures themselves. You say that I am presenting the whole topic, not from the point of view of the love of God, but from that of the fear of God. I quite understand that this is here and now the case. I am lecturing, not preaching. I am in the dusty plain, reasoning with men who admit nothing, and who must be met with their own weapons. I am reasoning with those who insist on it that there is no rational ground for thinking that ends death probation. I am endeavouring to prove from mere reason, that there is natural proof that death may end probation, and it is utterly futile for opponents of this position to say that it is a mere guess. A guess on the side of the subject where we are now standing amounts to everything. You wish to go to Europe, and do not know whether the steamer leaves Wednesday or Thursday. You guess it does not leave till Thursday. Does that guess govern your action? You surmise it may leave Wednesday. You are ready Wednesday. A guess on one side amounts to nothing; on the other side it amounts to everything. Any serious and fair man must admit that, if I can show

that it is possible that death may end probation, I carry my case in the court of practical wisdom.

Up to this point of my analysis of the experience of the soul in death, and in the approach to death, I believe I have asserted nothing that we shall not all admit. The facts that I have mentioned are notorious ones, and they justify me in affirming that distant views of death, and near views of death, produce a mighty spiritual experience.

10. Most commonly the summits of the mountains of death are veiled in mists. There are comparatively few deaths, in which the faculties of the soul retain their balance, and have clear vision to the very summit of transition from time to eternity.

11. Nevertheless, there is in many average cases, before consciousness is lost, a marvellous quickening of conscience and memory when death is expected instantly and by unimpaired faculties.

Physiologists themselves say that in death, after the power of motion is lost and the power of speech, there may be a quickening of memory bringing the whole life before conscience, because attention is taken off the external world. Draper says ("Human Physiology," p. 562) very suggestively: "Doubtless the mind in the solemn moment of death is sometimes occupied with an instantaneous review of impressions long before made upon the brain, and which offer themselves with clearness and energy, now that present circumstances are failing to excite its attention through loss of sensorial power of the peripheral organs, this state of things having also been testified to by those who have been recovered from drowning." A very plausible theory, indeed. I do not say it may not be a correct one. But I happen to know that when once in expectation of instant death, my whole life was thrown before me

vividly, as if in panoramic vision, I was exceedingly attentive to what was going on outside of me. When I felt a torch lighted inside my brain, my attention was not taken off external things. I was very anxious to know whether the railway coach in which I was being thrown down a rocky bank was to be instantly dashed to pieces, whether it was to take fire, whether my death was to be by a swift concussion with the rocks, or whether I was to be burned alive. The first thing said after the coach struck and everything inside of it fell into a chaos of wreck was: "Are there any lights burning? Put them out!" Every passenger had his mind on that thought, the possibility of horrible death by burning. But, although my mind was thus intensely occupied by what was outside of me, the whole of my life, in its moral relations, yes, the whole, from earliest youth to the latest hour, flashed before me instantaneously, but vividly.

12. *There is probation in arrival at the summit of the mountain range of death and in the outlook beyond.*

In life, as in the sky, there are few perfectly clear sunsets. Sometimes, however, the sky is unclouded until the very last, and we may observe the whole outward appearance of the setting orb until it disappears. Such cases in which the mental and moral faculties seem to be unimpaired to the very end, are exceedingly instructive and deserve the most careful inductive study.

13. What are the experiences of the soul in the supreme moment of death, when an outlook beyond its summit appears to be vouchsafed to some?

In the most remarkable exceptional cases there have been observed in the dying: (1) a starting up of the body, but in a manner different from automatic action; (2) a pointing with the hand, but with a definiteness and steadiness not explicable by automatism; (3) a look as if at the appearance of a sudden vision and most appre-

ciably different from the merely automatic stare; (4) a steady, intense *intelligent* gaze; (5) frequent mysterious brightening of the eyes; (6) a strange luminousness of face; (7) sometimes the hearing of strange voices; (8) sometimes emphatic words. It is a fact of science that in the dying the eyes often mysteriously brighten just before they glaze.

14. It is possible that the peculiar experiences here described may all be susceptible of a scientific, physiological, or psychological explanation as wholly subjective in origin.

15. It is, perhaps, certain that they are thus explicable in many cases.

16. It is *improbable,* however, that they are thus explicable in *all* cases. This improbability rests on;

(1.) The earnestness, reality and unexpectedness of the emotions displayed by the dying in these highest experiences.

(2.) The sameness of the experiences in persons of different temperaments, education, and beliefs.

(3.) The great numbers of those who have exhibited these signs.

(4.) The differences in minute details between what occurs in mere trance and hallucination and automatic action of the brain, on the one hand, and what is observed in some of these experiences, on the other.

There are lying here at my side the authentic records of twenty cases, illustrating the experiences of the dying in what appears to be an outlook from the summit of death upon a world beyond it. I hesitate, asking myself whether it is wise, whether it is permissible to my sense of the sacredness of the case, to refer to a death which has moved me greatly. I had a friend, dear to me as a brother, whose studies led him to doubt the objective reality of anything seen in such experiences as

I am now describing. He was, probably, the foremost student of trance that America has produced. I do not think he was an anti-supernaturalist; but his faith in Christianity had been very much shaken, and he was accustomed to ridicule experiences like those on which I am now placing a certain amount of emphasis. When Dr. George M. Beard lay dying in New York City, a devout Moravian said to him: "Trust in Jesus." With unimpaired faculties, he answered: "I DO. I AM." Immediately after this he rose up in bed and lifted up his hands, his face brightened, and he said, with great emphasis, "*Higher!* HIGHER!" and in a few seconds passed into that trance from which no man or angel could recall him. This man was naturally a sceptic. This man had as little subjective impulse to see visions as any person I ever knew. He seemed to retain all his faculties to the very last instant. What did he see? Here was an outlook obtained, apparently, by spiritual eyes before the physical eyes were closed. When does probation end? Certainly not while the power of speech lasts. And here, indeed, light appeared to break upon the soul while as yet earthly vision had not closed and the power of speech remained. There are thousands of instances of this kind.

Here is a famous essay by Frances Power Cobbe entitled "The Peak in Darien; or, the Riddle of Death." She is no partisan on the side of evangelical theology, but she summarizes in this article a long list of experiences in which just such visions beyond the peak of death appear to have been had by the coolest, most unimpassioned persons in their dying moments. Dr. Clarke, a former physician of great eminence in this city, published a thoroughly scientific work on "Visions," and its introduction was written by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. In that volume, which is sufficiently sceptical as to the

objective reality of anything seen in vision by the dying (see pp. 258–272), the admission is made (p. 274) that cannot very easily be set down as mere hallucination. "Probably all such visions as these," says Dr. Clarke, "are automatic. But yet, who, believing in God and personal immortality, as the writer rejoices in doing, will dare to say *absolutely all?* will dare to assert there is no *possible* exception? If life is continuous, heaven beyond and death the portal, is it philosophical to affirm that no one entering that portal has ever caught a glimpse or can ever catch a glimpse, before he is utterly freed from the flesh, of the glory beyond? The pure materialist, sad disciple of Nihilism, may dispute this; but no Theist or Christian will be bold enough to deny it" (p. 272). There would be no revival of brain-cells, stamped with earthly memories and scenes, but something seen of which the brain had received no antecedent impression and of which the ego had formed no conception. Entranced by a glimpse of what eye hath not seen nor ear heard and of which man has formed no conception, the gaze of the departing spirit would be riveted upon a glory invisible to his earthly companions. His features would be transfigured, and those around him would be amazed, perhaps appalled, at the sight, as some fishermen were, two thousand years ago, upon a mountain in Galilee, by the transcendent glory of a familiar face" ("Visions: a Study of False Sight," by Dr. E. H. Clarke. Boston, 1878, p. 278).

You dare not look at the holiest facts of death? You dare not avert your eyes from them! These are verities that hush the house, because they are verities into which we are all drifting. Death is so great a fact that it is the only circumstance we are permitted to see with certainty in our futures. Nothing else is certain; but it is certain that every eye here will glaze, every breath, every pulse pause, every form grow cold and turn to dust.

Nothing in all our future is really certain but our exit. There is nothing so high in life as the opportunity it gives of going up higher; there is nothing so much worth living for in life as death. He is a fool who has not looked through life and obtained such a vision of eternity as to constitute an inspiration. He is a weakling in life who has not leaned forward far enough to get an inhalation from the other world for use in this. Thomas Carlyle was always citing Goethe's Mason's Song:

> "Silent before us,
> Veiled the dark portal,
> Goal of all mortal.
> Stars over us silent,
> Graves under us silent.
> Choose well, your choice
> Brief is but endless.
> Here in eternity
> Eyes to regard you,
> Here is all fulness,
> Ye brave, to reward you.
> Work and despair not."

The thought of death, the certainty of the transition from time to eternity, was with Carlyle not a creed merely, but a life.

17. There may be cases when in death, at the supreme moment, the good may see those who have gone before them, and, perhaps, first of all, those nearest and dearest among those that have been taken from them. It is said of the martyr Stephen that he saw Heaven opened and Jesus standing at the right hand of God.

18. There may be cases in which the evil may see in death those whom they have injured—a Nero those he has slain, a Charles IX. those he had massacred, and the murderer or adulterer may meet his victims.

19. After this mysterious appearance of a supreme outlook beyond death, the soul sometimes retains power

enough over the body to speak, and, of course, its probation is not over in such cases.

20. In these cases, therefore, there must be probation by any light which comes to the evil soul or to the good in the supreme moment, and which must be accepted or rejected.

21. *I do not assert that the soul remains in the body after the breath leaves it or the eyes glaze; neither will I assert the opposite, that the soul does leave the body precisely when breath does or when the eyes glaze.*

It will be utterly impossible, while a quarter of a million readers are looking at the record of what is said on this platform, for a few anonymous correspondents to mislead the public as to these propositions. For good or for evil, the reporters here have the ear of the public, and I do not mean that any who condescend to look at what is said here shall be misled. I defy any man to put his finger on any assertion of mine in print, that the soul remains in the body after the breath leaves it. I have made no such assertion; so that all this talk about "after breath," and "after death," is a blow into thin air. I have simply affirmed that I will not maintain the opposite. I will not undertake to prove a universal negative, and say that I know that where there is no breath there is no soul. I have affirmed only that "it is not safe to assert that the soul does leave the body precisely when breath does." *Will any cautious or intelligent man here assert that it does?* In the present state of science no body knows precisely when the soul leaves the body. There has been a prize offered in France for many years for an unmistakable sign of death. Cessation of the breath is not that sign, cessation of the pulse is not, for both breath and pulse cease in cases of suspended animation. I have consulted with physicians on this matter, and find that professional opinion varies. The stenographer of this lectureship reported my first address

on this subject as making a distinction between real and apparent death. That is all I intended to make, and he who took down every word is quite as likely to have understood what was said here as any who listened with their elbows, and not with their ears.

Allow me to ask you to notice that I make nothing whatever in this argument depend upon the determination of the precise moment or manner of death considered as a physical change, but everything upon its character considered as a spiritual experience. Nor do I insist at all upon those exceptional types of experience which must, indeed, not be overlooked, but are not essential to my chief purpose.

22. Whether *rapid* or *otherwise*, death is the separation of the soul from the body, and probation is not over until death ends.

It is true, to be sure, that it is not agreed among men of science precisely when the soul is separated from the body; but this is the ordinary definition of death. Dr. Curry, in a recent article, calls this definition trite. It is all the better for being trite. It is the accepted definition. In saying that the light of eternity sometimes dawns on the soul, before the eyes are closed to this world, I assert, what to all appearance is scientifically demonstrable, but I, of course, do not mean the full light of eternity.

23. *Probation in death, however rapid, includes time for decision for or against all the light it brings.*

The physiological truth is that breathing does not cease, usually, until after the eyes glaze, and the eyes brighten before they glaze in many cases, when the faculties are unobscured at the last moment of life. There is time between the glazing of the eyes, and the cessation of breath, for the soul to make choice for or against light which comes to it in that brightening. The

development of the heat of the body, and several other organic functions, continue for a time after breath and pulse cease. (See Draper's "Physiology," p. 562.) According to some definitions of death, it does not close until the natural heat of the body passes away. If death begins by a commencing of coldness in the most distant extremities, why should we not say it ends by that coldness reaching all parts of the physical organism? And, surely, the coldness does not reach all parts until after breath and pulse cease. Nevertheless, I will not be responsible for the assertion, that the soul does not leave the body when breath does, and when the eyes glaze. Nor will I be responsible for the opposite assertion, because science has not settled, yet, *precisely* when the soul leaves the body. Make as much as you please of that position, only quote it fairly. Strike hard; but strike according to the laws of honourable combat, and I will not complain at any blows. I expect to give hard blows, and expect to take them; but I expect to deliver mine according to the rules of warfare.

24. *It is rational to believe that he who passes through probation by death seen at a distance, and by death near at hand, and by death at its supreme moment, unrepentant, will be so hardened and blinded by resisting all the light of these mighty spiritual experiences that he will never repent.*

This position is reinforced by the three great facts already noticed in another connection: (1) that he who comes to death unrepentant must have resisted its natural moral influences, as it is seen from a distance, and so have hardened and blinded his soul by sin against light; (2) that most men of middle or advanced life die as they have lived; and (3) that probably seven cases out of ten of apparent repentance in presence of death turn out not to be genuine if life is spared.

25. Mere reason, therefore, makes it highly probable that death ends probation. Under natural law and the continuous repetitions of moral choices by the soul, probation before death appears to be enough to fix character, and probation at death more than enough.

26. It has been shown that what reason makes probable on this point the Scriptures make certain.

27. The supreme dictate of practical wisdom coincides demonstrably, therefore, with the imperative and incessant mandate of conscience, with all the unspeakable promptings of the Divine love and mercy, as seen in both Nature and revelation, and with the constantly reiterated command of the Scriptures, and makes total, affectionate, irreversible self-surrender of the soul to God its duty this instant.

Inventing no new theory of probation, I have simply analyzed notorious facts and found behind them enough to fill our faces with the whiteness of awe in the presence of the natural laws which govern character. Sinning against the light blinds us to the light, and he who, under the incessant summons of God in conscience to repent, incessantly replies in the negative, and does so, on the approach of death, and in death, and, when final illumination breaks upon him, may be expected, under natural law, never to repent. "Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation." This is the voice of all the constellations in the merely natural sky of reason. It is the voice of all the constellations in the sky of revelation. And may God give us wisdom to obey these voices instantly.

# LECTURE.

## VI.

## ADVANCED THOUGHT IN ITALY AND GREECE.

CÆSAR'S work is nine-tenths undone; that of Peter and Paul remains. Rome is more theirs than his. Let us not underrate what ancient Rome has done for jurisprudence, literature, and art; but the relations of Rome, ancient and modern, to Christianity are a yet more important theme.

### THE FUTURE OF REFORMED CATHOLICISM.

What is to be said of advanced thought in Italy? Chiefly that it is undermining the Papacy, upsetting Romanism, putting an end to Vaticanism, but not that it is annihilating Catholicism. Separate for me the pure portions of the Catholic faith from the accretions of Vaticanism, Romanism, and the Papacy, and, although I may retain the liberty, even after such separation, to make many criticisms of the residuum, I should, nevertheless, be obliged to say God-speed to the central parts of the Reformed Catholic faith. To that faith I believe Italy is coming, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, South America, the whole Romish world. I do not expect to see Catholicism vanish out of history. I expect to see it slowly purified through the next two or, perhaps, three centuries. I do not care to see reformed Catholicism, even if it has some central ecclesiastical power at Rome,

vanish out of history. I do care to see Romanism, in the sense of Vaticanism, vanish as dust, pulverized under discussion, and pass completely out of sight or ken of the human race. I abhor Vaticanism and Romanism, if by Romanism you mean Vaticanism; but Catholicism, under which term I would summarize the pure parts of the Romish faith, I believe has a long life before it yet in a reformed shape in the Latin world.

What is the prospect of reformed Romanism, as you look on it from the City of the Seven Hills? In 1191 Celestine III. made the Emperor Henry VI. kneel down before him, and then kicked his crown off his head in order to show the Pope's prerogative of making and unmaking kings. Gregory VII. obliged Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, to stand three days in the depth of winter, barefooted at the gate of the castle of Canossa, to implore his pardon. What has happened since those days? Bismarck tells the German Parliament that neither he nor his nation expects to go to Canossa. Fifteen thousand dollars from poor shop-girls in Great Britain were only a few years ago presented to the Pope by Lady Herbert, of England, and he seems to have needed the gift. The States of the Church, after a thousand years of dark pre-eminence, have disappeared from the map of the world. The unofficial secretaries of legation, kept at the Papal Court by several nations, have been withdrawn. The legation from England, in 1874, ceased to have any official home at the Vatican, and even France is now inclined not to send any representative to the Court of St. Peter. The truth is that the temporal power of the Papacy has passed away in our time. The alphabetical guide to the Protestant churches in Italy says there are 138 organized Protestant churches, besides assemblies where service is conducted in English, French, and German. There are

among the Waldenses 15,000 communicants, and from 8,000 to 10,000 more in the Italian Protestant churches. At the time of the Armada—that is, in 1588—Spain alone had forty-three millions of people. England, Wales, and Scotland numbered only about four millions, or fewer than London itself contains to-day. Now, Spain has only sixteen millions, while Great Britain has thirty-six, with colonial subjects swelling the number to more than three hundred millions. The wealth of Great Britain has increased a hundred-fold, while Spain has become impoverished. In France there are more than half a million Protestants, with a thousand Protestant pastors, more than 1,200 Protestant schools, and thirty Protestant religious journals. In Switzerland Romanism had once all, and now has only two-fifths of the population. In Bavaria the Protestants number nearly a third of the population. In Belgium alone does Romanism show vigour.

It has been my fortune to recite these facts in a public lecture, almost under the shadow of the Vatican, and I am speaking at this moment from notes used in Rome. In 1851 the Roman Catholics were 25 per cent. of the whole population of England, Wales, and Ireland; in 1871, or twenty years later, they were only 19 per cent. Nevertheless, the Pope has recently referred to England as a field of victory for Romanism. The last edition of your *Encyclopædia Britannica* says that Catholics in England and Wales, according to the census of 1877, were barely one million. Roman Catholic churches and chapels increased in England, Scotland, and Wales from 647, in 1850, to 1,543, in 1880; but Protestant churches have increased more, relatively, and there is now a less percentage of Romanists in the British population than at the beginning of the century. Roman Catholicism has not been pro-

gressive in England for a quarter of a century. Until within about fifty years all South America was Roman Catholic; but now some twenty Protestant missionary societies are at work there. Mexico once had the richest Roman Catholic establishment in the world; but Protestantism is making great inroads upon its chief cities. In 1800 the Roman Catholics were 0·02 of the whole population of the United States, now they are 12·68. The evangelical population of the United States in 1800 was 24 per cent. of the whole population; now it is estimated at 70. In 1800 there was in the United States one communicant for every fifteen of the population; now there is one in five.

### Count Campello.

What of Count Campello? It was my fortune to meet him in Rome, and to study his career carefully through his own eyes, as well as those of both his friends and opponents. I regard him as one of the chief signs of the times as to the probable future of Romanism in Italy; a devout man in many senses; a scholar, who drifted out of Romanism because he could not drift out of honesty. He has endeavoured, but with little success, thus far, to establish a journal of his own, in which he does not advocate all our various jarring sets of Protestantism. He is very careful not to bring forward fifty-five religions in the place of one. But he stands upon the general principles of Protestantism, and advocates such a religion as will at once reach the heart of the people of Italy, and not offend the powers of the State. He is not cringing in his attitude before the civil authorities, neither is he cringing in his attitude before popular ignorance. He attacks Vaticanism boldly, he attacks infidelity boldly; in short, he is doing admirable

Protestant work in the pulpit, and on the platform, and in the press, and the day is coming when he is likely to have many followers.

You stand in Rome and look abroad over the dominions of the Pope in the world, and can hardly fail to find yourselves made cheerful by many a prospect of reform; not near at hand, perhaps, but inevitable at last. The temporal power of the Pope has been taken from him, once for all. Say what you please about the possibility of its being brought back, in time; it seems to me that the hour has sounded when all serious Romanists themselves should give up this hope. Transfer the seat of the Papacy from Europe to this country, if you please. I should rejoice in such transferral; because, once out of Rome, the Papacy will not be itself. A certain historic and ecclesiastical glamour will be rubbed off of it the moment you put it into another country. Bring it to New York, and you will be bringing a gaudy butterfly into the frosts of the latest autumn. We are very rude toward gilded things in this country. We have many kinds of sense; but very little historic sense or ecclesiastical sense, and the Pope in New York would most assuredly be a humming-bird in March.

## Protestantism in Italy.

What am I to say of Protestantism at large in Italy? What are the present duties of Protestantism on the seven hills of Rome? What special measures for the advance of Protestantism in Italy ought to be supported by Protestants at large? Among particular measures for the advance of Protestantism in Italy, these are very specially important at the present time:—

1. Support of the new Italian national system of

education—the common schools and high schools. I do not give the Italian names to these institutions, but I describe them by terms familiar to us.

2. Churches of aggressive piety.

3. Lectureships in Protestant apologetics.

4. Scientific theological training of preachers.

5. Evangelical services.

6. All methods for the religious culture of the young.

7. Temporary financial assistance to converts in need of employment after ceasing to be Romanists.

8. Purity of life in the Evangelical ministry.

9. Unity among Evangelical sects.

10. Exposure of the errors of the Papacy, as illustrated in the history of indulgences, inquisitions, Mariolatry, monasteries, the denial of the Bible to the people, the opposition of the hierarchy to education, and its political pretensions.

Pausing only to develop one of these points and leaving to your wisdom the discussion of the others, I must affirm that I do not speak carelessly when I advise temporary financial assistance to convert in need of employment after ceasing to be Romanists. Many a cab-driver in Paris was once a priest. It is very difficult to obtain in Paris reputable employment at the present hour for a priest who has abandoned Romanism. It is almost impossible to do this in the Sacred City of the Tiber. I found Protestant ministers and missionaries substantially unanimous, although not quite so, in the opinion that financial assistance should be given to such converts; not permanently, but from time to time, according to the wisdom of those who study the circumstances in detail in each case. It is really a question of starvation that faces many a man who leaves Romanism in Italy. Many a poor priest will not be received as a teacher, or employed in any position of high trust, if it is known that he has become a reprobate to Romanism. Perhaps very little

ought to be said upon this point, after all. Nevertheless, so does Rome differ from London, so does Paris differ from Boston, that temporary assistance of this sort sometimes makes the difference between courage and a craven attitude in one who leaves Romanism. Unless a man can get his living, it is hard to induce him to be thoroughly aggressive in his opposition to the faith he abandons in Italy. In twenty-five years no aid of the kind here suggested will be needed.

What is Italy to the world? you say. What is she to-day to the Romish world? Queen of Romish nations, head of all great Romish forces on this planet. Conquer Italy for Protestantism and advanced civilization; conquer that land of beauty and of song; conquer that population of devout religious instincts and of marvellous artistic perceptions; conquer that proud people of ancient blood, not yet forgetful of its lineage, and you conquer Romanism throughout the planet.

### Outlook from the Acropolis.

What is Greece to the world? She was its schoolmistress, and in many senses is such yet.

On the night when Plato became the pupil of Socrates the latter, according to Pausanias, dreamed that a white swan, rising from the altar of Eros, flew into his bosom, and thence ascended to heaven, with a song which delighted both gods and men. Demosthenes, in reply to his enemies, once boasted that there were days when Athens had but one voice within her walls, and the stranger, entering the gates and startled by the silence, was told that Demosthenes was speaking in the assembly of the people. Were Plato, Socrates, and Demosthenes the only forms visible from the Acropolis, that eminence would be the loftiest outlook on the globe over human intellectual history. But

at the west summit of the Parthenon there is a point from which are visible, by once turning the head, the groves of Plato's Academy, the daily haunts of Socrates, the bema of Demosthenes, the grounds of the lyceum of Aristotle, the Mars Hill of Paul, the Propylæa of Phidias and Pericles, the Erechtheum, the Tower of the Winds, the Pan-Athenaic Stadium, the Olympium, the theatre of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the Temple of Theseus, the pass of Daphne, the sacred road to Eleusis, the heights of Acro-Corinthus, Cytherus, Parnes, Pentelicus, and Hymettus, the plains of the Cephissus and the Ilissus, the harbours of Phalerum and the Piræus, the islands Ægina, Psyttalea, and Salamis, the mountain slope once the seat of Xerxes, the Phyle Pass of Thrasybulus, the path to the Marathon of Miltiades, the Salamis straits of Aristides and Themistocles. I confess that I rarely occupied this outlook long without falling into a trance. Advanced thought in Greece must be learned from the ghosts of the great soul of her antiquity, and they yet fill all her classic air, above land and sea.

### Progress in Modern Greece.

You lean over the parapet of the Acropolis, on the side toward the modern city, and look in vain for the print of that Venetian leprous scandal and that Turkish hoof, which for 600 years trod Greece into the slime. In the long bondage to the barbarian, the Hellenic spirit was weakened; but not broken. The Greek, with his fine texture, loathes the stolid, opaque temperament of the polygamistic Turk. Intermarriages between the races are very few. The Greek race is not extinct. In many rural populations in Greece the modern Hellenic blood is as pure as the ancient. Only Hellenic blood explains Hellenic countenances, yet easily found; the

Hellenic language, yet wonderfully incorrupt; and the Hellenic spirit, omnipresent in liberated Greece. Fifty years ago not a book could be bought at Athens. To-day one in eighteen of the whole population of Greece is in school. I counted in 1881 thirteen very tall factory chimney-stacks in the Piræus, not one of which was there at my first visit, in 1873. It is pathetic to find Greece at last opening on the Acropolis, and in the heart of Athens national museums for the sacred remnants of her own ancient art, which have been pillaged hitherto for the enrichment of the museums of all Western Europe. Sixty years of independence, and the Hellenic spirit has doubled the population of Greece, increased her revenues 500 per cent., extended telegraphic communication over the kingdom, enlarged the fleet from 440 to 5,000 vessels, opened eight ports, founded eleven new cities, restored forty ruined towns, changed Athens from a hamlet of hovels to a city of 70,000 inhabitants, and planted there a royal palace, a legislative chamber, ten type foundries, forty printing establishments, twenty newspapers, an astronomical observatory, and a university with eighty professors and 1,500 students. I hold in my hand at this moment the year-book of that university, printed in classical Greek, and the examination papers in it are as searching as any ever issued at Harvard or Yale, at Cambridge or Oxford. I hold in my hand a collection, which I bought at a single pause of my carriage in the main street of Athens, of the principal newspapers now issued in that metropolis, all in beautiful Greek. Hear [shaking one of the papers before the audience] the latest rustle of Demosthenes among the ages! King Otho's German Count, when he came from Nauplia to Athens, in 1835, lived at first in a shed that kept out neither the rain nor the north wind. On Constitution Place, in Athens, in 1843, the Hellenic spirit, without violence or

the display of force for but a few hours, substituted for personal power in Greece a constitutional government as free as that of England. George Finlay, the historian of the Greek revolution, and who fought in it, affirms that even before that event, degraded as the people were politically, a larger proportion could read and write than among any other Christian race in Europe. Undoubtedly, long bondage, acting on the natural adroitness of the race, taught the Greeks disingenuousness. The old blood produced an Alcibiades, as well as a Socrates; a Cleon, as well as a Phocion. There was in it, as in American veins to-day, a tendency to social, commercial, and political sharp dealing. But, after little more than half a century of independence, the Hellenic spirit devotes a larger percentage of public revenue to purposes of instruction than France, Italy, England, Germany, or even the United States. Modern Greece, sixty years ago a slave and a beggar: to-day, by the confession of the most merciless statisticians, stands at the head of the list of self-educated nations.

# THE PRELUDE.

## State Aid to Education.

The most significant storm map of the United States is the chart illustrating the illiteracy of our population. I open it before you [exhibiting Plates 29, 30, and 31 of Walker's Statistical Atlas of the United States], and I beg you to hover above it long with impartial and searching gaze. Notice how thick and dark the clouds of illiteracy are becoming in the South-west, and on the Gulf, and in Texas, and in the lower part of the Mississippi Valley, and on the great rivers of the beautiful lands of Georgia, Alabama, and the Carolinas, and in the mountain regions of Tennessee and Kentucky, and especially in the foreign population and great cities of the Northern States. These most suggestive maps I often keep lying open before me in my study, and I sometimes bend over them in solitude, with keen, patriotic pain and suffused eyes. They represent the darkest hour in the educational history of the foremost Christian republic of all time. The clouds of illiteracy must be driven out of the American sky, or our example, on which the attention of the world is riveted, will cease to be any decisive proof that governments of the people, for the people, and by the people, are not to perish from the earth. Neither the census of 1870 nor that of 1880 is faultless in accuracy; but in their large outlines their results are to be trusted, especially when they agree, as

they do, on the points I am now discussing. In the chart which I hold before you the light yellow represents the school attendance. The other colours represent the population engaged in gainful occupations and in personal service. Speaking roundly, everybody except infants and the aged ought to be at school or at work; and the margins of these squares (referring to the chart) show you the proportion of our population that is neither at school nor at work. Such of you as have an eye for scientific illustrations, will notice that by the often broad margins here a really immense population is indicated, and it is out of these marshes that the clouds rise which cover the map of illiteracy.

A prelude is intended to be compact as a sonnet; but in order to be compact and not confused, I must use numerals to guide the eye and ear to the most important points, and you will bear with me, therefore, in a little analytical detail.

Notice, first, the illiteracy of the United States as a whole:—

1. Five millions of the fifty millions of the population of the United States over ten years of age cannot read; six and a quarter cannot write.

2. Of the ten millions of voters of the United States one in five cannot write his name.

It is true, indeed, that one in five of our population is an evangelical church member. That fact represents a most hopeful side of our civilization. But at the extreme left we have among the voters one in five who cannot write, and this is the most alarming part of our national condition.

3. The nation is now charged with the education of eighteen millions of children and youth. Of these ten and one-half millions are enrolled in public and private schools, but the average attendance is only six millions.

Seven and one-half millions, or five-twelfths of the whole, are growing up in absolute ignorance of the alphabet.

4. At the present rate of the increase of the number of children not attending school, there will be in ten years more children in the United States out of schools than in them. (Senator Blair's speech on aid to common schools. *Congressional Record,* June 15, 1882, p. 9.)

Statements parallel to these have been made by our distinguished National Commissioner of Education, General Eaton, of Washington, whose authority I have here, in print or writing, for all these propositions. Within a fortnight he has sent me, most kindly, elaborate collections of documents, some of which lie on this table; and he will send, I have no doubt, to any teacher or lecturer making a special study of national aid to education similar collections. You can verify these statistics for yourselves. Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, in introducing his famous bill for the prevention of national illiteracy, put all these facts and many more before Congress. I am selecting out of the great quiver of startling circumstances, illustrating the extent of national illiteracy, a few arrows that have the sharpest points and that are so feathered that the flight of them may be far and sure.

5. In all but five of the States there were enough illiterate voters to have reversed the result of the last presidential election in each of these States.

6. It is estimated by the statisticians of the Government that the total annual profit to the country by the conversion of the illiterate into educated labour could not be less than $400,000,000 a year. (General John Eaton, National Commissioner of Education, address before the Union League Club of New York, December 21, 1882, pp. 19, 20.)

### Illiteracy in Cities.

Notice next the illiteracy of cities in the United States.

1. In thirty-four cities from 50 to 82 per cent. of children of school age are not enrolled at all.

2. In eighty-six cities the average attendance is only about two-thirds of the enrolment or one-third of the population of school age. These eighty-six cities contain over eight millions inhabitants, or nearly one-sixth of the total population of the country; but more than a third of their population of school age never enter the schoolroom at all.

You thought we had compulsory education. So we have, on paper, in many cities; but in very many no compulsory education, even on paper.

3. New York, the superbest city of my native State and of the hemisphere, and ultimately to be as large as London, has 114,000 children not enrolled in school at all; and the average attendance is but 132,000, out of a school population of 385,000. You say that many who are not in the public schools are in private schools, and I make allowance for that fact; but it does not account for the enormous difference between 132,000 and 385,000. Suppose that it accounts for a quarter of that difference, what are you to do with the remaining three-quarters, or nearly 200,000 children, growing up at the mouth of the Hudson without a knowledge of reading and writing?

4. Chicago—proud queen of the great lakes—enrols less than half, forty-three per cent., of her children in the public schools; less than a third are habitually in school; fifty-seven per cent. never attend at all, and of these very few receive instruction in private schools.

5. St. Louis has a school population of 106,000. Of

these 55,000 are enrolled, 36,000 is the average attendance, and 50,000 are growing up in a savage state, aggravated by contact with the civilized depravity of the worse parts of city life.

6. Cincinnati has an average attendance at school of but 27,000, or less than a third of the whole number of her school population; while 51,000 are not enrolled at all. Out of the school population of the entire State only 28,650 are in private schools and of these probably not more than 10,000 can be found in Cincinnati, so that 40,000 children in that city are to-day growing up in dense ignorance. (Senator Blair's speech, cited above, p. 9. See also the tables on illiteracy, prepared by General Eaton.)

Cincinnati is not the worst of our great cities, and Ohio is the mother of Presidents, and in most respects a model commonwealth. Three of these cities have sprung up in the North-west—that region of our country which has had enormous aid from Government for common school purposes.

### Illiteracy in the Southern States.

Notice, thirdly, the illiteracy in the Southern States. I take this topic after the theme of our own illiteracy, lest I should seem to be moved by partisan feeling, or should be accused of not remembering with sufficient vividness the mighty financial reverses of the South at the close of the Rebellion. I beg leave to state that I quite agree with Mr. Mayo in his admirable address before the gathering of the friends of social science at Saratoga, last summer, when he says, after travelling three years through the South, that he believes the population of that section of our Union has done more in proportion to its wealth for common school education in the last ten

years than the northern portion of our Union. Nevertheless, here are two facts of huge significance.

1. Thirty-two and three-tenths per cent. of the voters in the South are illiterate. Of these 69·7 are coloured and 30·3 are whites.

2. In spite of all the appliances of education, the increase of illiterate voters in the South from 1870 to 1880 was 187,671. "In more than one-third of the Union the ignorant voters are almost one-third of the total number of voters." (President Hayes's Address at Cleveland, October, 1882).

Notice, lastly, illiteracy in the territories:

1. In New Mexico forty-five per cent. of the white population, over ten years of age, and sixty-nine per cent. of the coloured population, cannot write.

2. To our most searching shame in Alaska, a territory wholly under the control of Congress, and, to speak roundly, as large as the whole American Union east of the Mississippi, Congress leaves a population of 30,000 hardy people without any legal provision at all for the education of their children.

Storm East, storm West, storm North, storm South, storm especially in the South-west. While illiteracy, either as a haze or a dark threat, occupies so much of our national sky, what is to happen if the opinions of his Excellency, the present Governor of Massachusetts, prevail concerning the withdrawal of State aid from normal schools, or the reduction of the salaries of male teachers in the common schools? Summarize the points in his recent message which are unfriendly to the present Massachusetts school system and call his Excellency's educational policy Butlerism. Let the system of governmental action he recommends be adopted, let Butlerism prevail, and are the storms which national illiteracy is sure to engender likely to be averted? Is Butlerism the

Ariel to control the Caliban of the ignorant suffrage of the United States? That is a fair question. A very bold one, indeed; but it is the business of the independent platform to be bold. I am not a politician. I am not trying to grind any axe on any one of the forty political grindstones of this Republic, nor have I any political head to be decapitated. My conviction is that national illiteracy and Butlerism stand to each other in the relations of fire and fan. I affirm that Butlerism and national illiteracy put together would ruin the nation.

### Normal and High Schools.

On former occasions I have defended the normal schools of this State, and, indeed, they are sufficiently defended by Colonel Higginson's recent beautiful apologue of the farmer and his plough. (See "Journal of Education," 1883.) We exempt the plough from legal seizure when a man cannot pay his debts. Why? Because this instrument is one of the chief means by which its owner is supposed to obtain his livelihood. What the plough is to the man who depends on the soil for his sustenance, the normal schools, educating teachers for the common schools, are to the whole common school system. The unkind remarks of his Excellency concerning the State normal schools are contrary to what the Peabody Fund and its administrators have taught us, for a great portion of that fund goes for the education of teachers. His Excellency's remarks amount almost to saying: "Cut down the tree. It is of no use to us. All we want is its shade."

Give us the normal schools to educate a competent class of teachers, and give us high schools, with practical courses of study, as a link of silver between the common schools, or the link of iron, and the universities, or the

link of gold, and we can hold our population together through all its orders, from its less well educated to the best educated classes. One of the hugest needs of this country and of many another country is a middle link of education between the best cultured and those who have only elementary instruction. The masses of our people very soon will cease to believe in highly intellectual and thoroughly trained men as leaders, unless there be high schools to lift pupils from the very bottom of the social scale and educate the brightest minds into contact with the best educated circles. Our government rests on the people at large; but in a close analysis it depends on the silver link more than on the golden or the iron. A man who is too highly educated in this country loses a certain amount of political influence. A man, of course, who is very ignorant, must lose influence; but if we have not high schools, if we have not advanced grammar schools, to carry the best intellects of the people up into the region where they see, at least, the highest thought, although they may not be able to produce it, we are likely to be led from the bottom, and not from the top of society. *Without vigorous intermediate, as well as primary and collegiate education, any nation under universal suffrage is likely to fall into bondage to the uneducated.* Unless we have normal schools and high schools as a middle link, we cannot be led even by the middle portion of our population, but shall be led by the lowest. In the name of political necessity and of the interests of all classes of the people I defend the high schools and the normal schools, I defend that continuity of educational institutions which begins by the lowest round of the educational ladder, a round that ought to stand in the gutter and lift the worthy pupil, of whatever social rank, to the upper round, on a level as high as education has reached any-

where on earth. Let us make the American educational ladder continuous, with no gaps, so that the poorest man, if he have the ability, may go up to the very top.

### Remedies for Illiteracy.

National aid to education is the only adequate remedy for the national evil of illiteracy. If Congress is to be taken as a body, neither sentimental nor lacking in practical sagacity, public opinion is yet very far from having risen to the height the facts require us to reach if we are to meet the demands of this case. I have come recently from distant lands, and I have found that many a country on earth is much more sensitive to its illiteracy than we appear to be to that of our own nation. At this moment Greece expends more for her common schools, in proportion to her wealth, than we do. So does Japan; and the latter country has a larger proportion of her children in school than we have. As a nation, we are not in advance of Prussia in expenditures for common schools, and even England and Scotland are verging close upon New England in their taxes for the abolition of illiteracy. The truth is that, instead of being, as a whole, at the front of the educational advance of civilization, our proud nation is gradually dropping into a laggard place. Of course, we have difficulties to contend with in some particulars which foreign nations do not have in equal degree; but so do they have difficulties which we have not. We have a great foreign immigration. We have lately made citizens of the vast coloured population in the Southern States; but, no matter from what source these difficulties have come upon us, it is ours to meet them; ours, in spite of all our troubles, to lead the world in the abolition of

ignorance, for our form of government more than any other necessitates the education of the people at large.

There are three plans put forward as antidotes for the giant mischiefs of illiteracy in the United States.

1. An appropriation of $100,000,000 during the next ten years, beginning with $15,000,000 annually with a gradual decrease; the money to be distributed on the basis of the illiteracy of citizens over ten years of age in the different States and territories, according to the census of 1880, exclusively for common schools, unsectarian in character, one-tenth of the sum to be used for the training of common school teachers. This is the proposal made in the Senate bill reported by Mr. Blair, of New Hampshire.

2. An appropriation of $10,000,000 annually for five years, on the same basis, for a similar purpose, no State to receive a larger sum than its own appropriation, and on condition of having provided three months' schooling a year for all its children, five per cent. to be appropriated to the training of teachers. This is the proposal made in the House bill reported by Mr. Sherwin, of Illinois. (The Rev. A. D. Mayo's address before the Social Science Association, at Saratoga, September 5, 1882.)

3. The creation of a perpetual fund, to be composed of the accretions to the Treasury from annual sales of public lands, railroad revenues, and other sources, the interest of which shall be distributed to the States at first upon the basis of illiteracy, and afterward according to population; one-third to be appropriated to the support of agricultural colleges, and the remainder of such interest to the common schools. This proposal has been pending in Congress for several years. (See Senator Blair's speech, cited above, p. 12.)

This is a majestic scheme. It appears to me to be one of the greatest enterprises lately proposed in our nation. Next to Civil Service Reform, it ought to rouse most thoroughly the enthusiasm of our cultured circles and younger men, and so force upon Congress action at once in obedience to the will of the educated part of society. Questions of detail as to the management of the funds given by the nation in aid of education in the States can only be settled by experience. Distinguish carefully national contribution from national control in this matter. The expenditure of the national funds would, of course, be watched by national officers; but State rights would not be invaded at all. As to precedents, it is most certain that we have already given large parts of the public land in the Western and North-western States for the support of common school education. President Hayes has said that Ohio owes her present pre-eminence in the United States as an educated commonwealth far more to the national aid which the Government gave to her common schools by setting apart land in the North-west territory for their support than to any other cause whatever. Her fat soil, her mighty commercial opportunities, her vigorous population have not done for her what this Government aid did. We of the old thirteen colonies have not had as much aid as we have given; but under these new measures we should get some aid, and we need it, especially where the great cities are thrusting their illiteracy into such alarming prominence. It is only fair that in any new aid the old Thirteen States should have assistance according to the extent of their illiteracy. Such a use of public funds is certainly not opposed to precedent. Daniel Webster said it was not contrary to his interpretation of the Constitution to give a large part of the

proceeds of the sale of public land to the quenching of illiteracy and the support of the common school education throughout the nation at large.

My supreme argument in favour of this superb scheme of national aid to education is the condition of the South. It was the North that forced upon the South a large illiterate vote. This was a noble act, as I regard it. It was justified by the circumstances of the time. But the war itself is not fought out until we enable the Southern States to conquer the perils of the illiteracy which came into existence there by the downfall of slavery and by the enfranchisement of the blacks. Aristotle said that whoever meditates on the art of governing men will perceive that it depends on the education of children. Let us deliver America from bondage to the uneducated; let us end the war; let us have peace, but not through Butlerism.

# INTERLUDE.

## Reply to Dr. Miner.

The Universalists and the semi-Universalists are the only important opponents of this lectureship; but it is exceedingly significant that they appear to lock hands, although the Universalists are outside of orthodoxy and the semi-Universalists are not, but ought to be. On the same page of the foremost New England daily, which this morning celebrates its seventieth anniversary and goes into a magnificent office, of which we are all proud, I found myself last Saturday attacked by Dr. Miner, of Boston, and by Professor Smyth, of Andover. I will say concerning Dr. Miner's fourth or fifth letter that there is nothing new in it, and I do not know why he troubles the public by such iteration and reiteration of his amazing proposition, which I now read in his own language, that "moral fixedness is not compatible with freedom." "My heart is fixed," the Psalmist says (Ps. cviii). Well, then, the Psalmist, according to Dr. Miner, was not free. Five or six times, in a sense similar to this, the word "fixed" is used in the Scriptures, and once in connection with "a great gulf" that is "fixed." Shakespeare uses the word "fixed," or its equivalent, many scores of times, in passages which teach that man can be free and yet have reached the state in which character is fixed. Every consistent Universalist must be an anti-Shakesperean. Dr. Miner drops my citations of Milton and Shakespeare as if they were of no authority, but they are the unpartisan judgments of two of the loftiest geniuses of our race as to

the laws of human nature. Shakespeare says the heart may be so brazed as to be proof and bulwark against sense; but it is not convenient for a Universalist teacher to notice this fact and all it implies. For centuries in our English speech we have talked of "fixed resolves," "fixed determinations," "fixed purposes." "My resolve is fixed," "my determination is fixed," "my purpose is fixed"—all this is average, ordinary language. This audience knows that in all the cases described by these common phrases we take it for granted that freedom of the will lasts. Dr. Miner assails my phrase "final permanence of moral character" as tautological. It is slightly tautological if you put on the word "final," a meaning I never put upon it. Look into the dictionary, and "final" will be found to mean either *ultimate* or *decisive*. Now, I mean by "final permanence," ultimate permanence, so that "final permanence of moral character" is exactly translated by these two other phrases—"ultimate steadfastness of character," "unchanging bent of character." This is perfectly consistent with freedom. Why does Dr. Miner discuss words and not things? I fear he wishes to divert attention away from the central matter, for the tremendous scientific truth at the bottom of this discussion is precisely this, that under the self-propagating power of habit and the tendency of all sinning against light to injure our moral eyesight, we do drift into ultimate steadfastness of character, "unchanging bent of character," "final permanence of character," and that, as sin may thus continue forever, so may its punishment.

If you put the other meaning on "final," why, "final permanence" is slightly tautological; but it would even then be usefully tautological, it is so hard to get this central fact in human nature in some minds. The biblical phrase "for ever and ever" is tautological; but, in spite of its tautology, the meaning of it has never been appre-

hended yet by Universalistic circles. There is a sin that has "never forgiveness, neither in this world nor in the next." What if Dr. Miner were to come forward and say: "That is a tautological expression. It means a sin has never forgiveness, never, no never?" That would be attracting attention away from the thing to the language. A tremendous circumstance is the biblical tautological language on the very points Dr. Miner is discussing.

Dr. Miner calls my attention to certain passages of Scripture. I reply that these and all his other proof-texts have been answered over and over by the greatest exegetical scholars. I shall not take the time of this audience to go into an elaborate exegetical discussion of them; and I say simply of the passages which he mentions here, and which I will name—John x. 22; Revelation xii. 13; Isaiah xiv. 22, 23, 24; that he will find exactly my view of them in Dean Alford, or in Dr. Hodge's "Systematic Theology," or in President Bartlett's "Life and Death Eternal," or in Julius Müller's "Doctrine of Sin." Why do I mention these authorities, instead of giving my own views? First, because the authorities are of very much more consequence than my views; and secondly, because I should be very glad to invite the attention of Universalists to standard in distinction from merely popular Evangelical authorities.

## Self-supporting Missions.

The *New York Independent* has a nobler record in connection with philanthropic reform than any other American religious journal. Long ago, in the early anti-slavery days, its proprietor and manager said to the slave power that his silks were for sale, but not his principles. Although not always in harmony with it on every point of theology, I thoroughly admire the readiness of *The*

*Independent* to allow both sides of every question to be heard, and it is my fortune to agree with it in nearly every detail of its trenchant contentions against slavery, intemperance, illiteracy, Mormonism, the corruption of the Civil Service, and other great practical evils. With proper courtesy, I must express my surprise that *The Independent*, usually so prompt to support strong measures of reform, should take a somewhat laggard attitude as to missions. It dissents, rather emphatically, from my proposition that the churches of all Christendom, Protestant and Romish taken together, or, at least, the Protestant, should furnish one missionary to every 50,000 of the accessible pagan population of the world. *The Independent* affirms that this amount of help would undermine the native ministry which ought to be called into existence. I believe in a native ministry with all my heart, mind, and strength; but my conviction is that in a city of 50,000 inhabitants—say one as large as Springfield or Hartford—in a pagan land, with all the influences of hereditary misbelief and custom opposing Christianity, there ought to be at least one man born and educated on Christian shores and representing sound views. What if the native ministry is so enlarged as to give one religious teacher to every thousand of the population of such a city? This one man would have under him, in some sense as pupils or ecclesiastical subordinates for the time, fifty native teachers, and that number is enough for one man to oversee as a bishop of souls. In several advanced mission-fields experience has shown that the directing power of the foreign missionaries was withdrawn too early. I held up my ideal not as a standard that we are likely to reach very soon in practice; but as a proposition favoured as an ideal by the best students and managers of missions and especially by the ablest missionaries themselves. The opinions of missionaries at the front in

actual conflict with paganism are worth as much as those of any other body of men as to what we should try to do for the heathen world. I affirm unflinchly that seven out of ten of the two hundred missionaries I have shaken hands with in pagan lands are of the opinion that I do not put the ideal of missionary effort too high. This topic is not new to me. I have been discussing it, more or less, all the way around the world. The American Madura Mission, in South India, one of the most efficiently managed I have seen, has been asking for twenty years for one missionary for every 50,000 people under its charge. I call my standard the Madura ideal. *The Independent* says the missionary fields abroad could not be supplied on this scale, without robbing our theological seminaries and the home field. They could not be, unless the churches were aroused to send more men than they now do into the seminaries and the home field. My proposition is that we must have a far more thorough arousal as to our duty to missions than we have dreamed that we need. Infidelity is occupying the middle and the upper classes of pagan lands, and it is difficult to calculate how terribly hard it will be to win these circles to Christianity if we allow infidelity to have its own way in them for another generation. On this theme the Church, as a whole, is torpid, and I would have the necessity of the case smite the rock of our indifference and cause copious streams to gush forth—not of money only, but of men. When God sends his Spirit to the Protestant Churches of all lands in full measure, I believe that we shall not fail of the realization of my ideal as to missionary effort.

There is a writer in *The Independent* who puts questions to me concerning immorality in theological seminaries in Holland and Germany. I weighed every one of the few words which I thought it my duty to utter on that subject, and need not say that I have abundant evidence

to justify them all, though, for evident reasons, I cannot put it before the public. If my questioner has been casting a drag-net into the life of the students in the theological departments of European universities, and has gathered matter of scandal and wishes to open his net in the face of the public, I cannot forbid him from doing so; but he shall not have my assistance in this procedure, which will, probably, need a large amount of deodorizing. I beg you to notice that a knowledge of the facts I mentioned the other morning was forced upon me. The statement has come to me repeatedly, in the best informed circles in Europe, that semi-infidel views and those which are wildly rationalistic are notoriously accompanied, in Holland and France, by some things in theological halls that cannot be described frankly without offence. No such information has come to me concerning Leipzic, or Bonn, or Halle, or Berlin, and I lived long in each of those places, as a student and observer of affairs. My questioner, in a recent number of *The Index*, proclaims himself an anti-supernaturalist, and if he, listening to any evil that can be said of orthodoxy in Europe, has heard more than I have against it, I am perfectly willing he should make the facts public, for the impugned orthodoxy will be sure to effect swiftly the needed reform.

# LECTURE.

## VII.

## PALESTINE, EGYPT, AND THE FUTURE OF ISLAM.

WHAT of Palestine and Egypt and the future of Islam?

Palestine was a bridge between the valley of the Nile and that of the Tigris and Euphrates. In the most celebrated earlier ages of sacred history these valleys contained the foremost civilization of the earth, except that which was coming into existence in Rome and Greece. In the great periods of Old Testament history Egypt and Assyria were constantly sending armies over the bridge of Palestine. Intellectual, social, military, religious influences stormed to and fro over this narrow highway and Palestine was able thus to take into its very heart the foremost impulses and the best thought of the world, as well as the worst. Sometimes trodden down under the tyrannies of Babylon, the Holy Land was yet the teacher of its greatest oppressors. Large parts of its population, however, were so caught by the poisons of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates as to drop off from the divine stem and wither, and have drifted into oblivion in history. Are the scattered Israelites of the world likely to be restored in any large numbers to the land of their ancestors? What is to be the future of Palestine? Nowhere on earth have I spent days of such intense interest as those which went over my head in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and on the

Dead Sea, and in Hebron, and on the plain of Esdraelon, and in Nazareth, and by the Sea of Tiberias, and in Damascus, and on the Lebanon ranges. My unspeakable attachment to Palestine is easily explicable, of course. Its scenery, as Ernest Renan himself said, is a fifth Gospel. How is it that the future of Palestine appears to one who, full of the reverence which the sacred associations of the Holy Land inspire, goes to Jerusalem and asks himself what is to come. Is Palestine ever to rise from the desolation into which she has been trodden down by six hundred years of the tyranny of the Mohammedan races? The hoof of the Turkish Power is said to wither every green thing it touches. When the tread of this hoof ceases to be felt in Palestine, will her vineyards bend once more with heavy clusters, will her valleys grow green again, will her deserts blossom as the rose?

### The Future of Palestine.

My friends, I must be frank with you and say that I am not one of those who believe that Palestine is likely soon to recover her ancient political greatness. She was a bridge between two great nations, and the opportunity of greatness came largely from her position. She never will be as great politically and industrially as she has been, until the Valley of the Nile, and the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, are again as great as they once were in matters political and literary, and commercial and religious. Fill up the Valley of the Nile with a better civilization, let liberty and order be introduced into Asia Minor, let the historic soil between Mount Lebanon and the head of the Persian Gulf be traversed by a railway which would not need to be as long as the Pacific Railway from Omaha to San Francisco, and would by no

means be as difficult to build; let the advance of the Occident toward the rising sun bring noble industries into Egypt, and the old land once governed by the Medes and Persians; let either Russia or England, or any power to whom God in his providence may assign this huge task, regenerate the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates, and I believe that Palestine may again rise and shine politically and industrially and, if God will, religiously.

As I do not see any immediate prospect of the swift regeneration of the Valley of Euphrates and no very definite promise of that of the Nile, I am not one of those who think that Palestine soon, under the stimulus of colonization from America or Europe, or under incitements from return of the Jews, is to rise to industrial or political greatness. She is, indeed, greatly altered in her physical capacities. The old terraces are broken down. The foxes have their holes and the birds their nests where prophecy predicted that they should have them. I am not sure, my friends, that Palestine can ever be made to seem to be a fat land, to those who live in the fat lands of the Rhine or the Thames, the Hudson or the Mississippi. To-day Palestine, in large parts, is so desolate that the twittering birds cannot fly over it without haversacks. You are confronted in nearly all directions with desolation fulfilling prophecy to the letter.

Nevertheless, there are signs of improvement in many parts of the Holy Land, and on these a visitor there dwells with the utmost interest. There is a new Jerusalem growing up outside the walls of the old city. As travellers here will justify me in saying, the new city is much more pleasant as a residence than the old one, and in everything except historic associations, is the more dignified part of that great collection of stone dwellings on the ancient sites of the sacred city. Russia is doing

marvellous things for the progress of the Greek Church at Jerusalem; the Armenian and the Romish churches are effecting many improvements there. There is a certain amount of immigration setting into the Holy Land from all parts of the Jewish world—not a very deep tide nor broad, only a little rill; and not always the young people at that. You go to the Jews' wailing-place, and in the hours you stand there, watching the swaying forms of the mourners, as they read the lamentations of the prophets over the beautiful stones of their temple, you notice again and again that the proportion of old men is very large. With fine quality of fibre, clearness of skin, no vicious opaqueness of complexion, such as you meet with only too often in the polygamous Arab or Turk, these people are plainly elect even yet; but they have come there to die. They have schools, they teach pupils to be sent into various parts of the world; Jerusalem is becoming the head-quarters of modern Israel; but there is not depth nor breadth enough in this immigration to produce swift changes in the Holy Land. It appears to me that nothing can regenerate Palestine up to the extent of its capacity, in the present state of the Nile Valley and the Euphrates, except the withdrawal of all Syria from under the Turkish power. How soon that withdrawal will occur I know not, but at the present the whole land is eclipsed by Islam.

It was my fortune on a beautiful afternoon to leave Jaffa, and to commence the ascent of the mountains of the interior of Palestine just at sunset. Up rose the shield of the orb of night, white, clear, shimmering in its golden vividness, with a beauty not often seen outside of Oriental climes. In a few minutes, however, a sickly pallor began to overspread this disc. I knew not what was to happen, and supposed some optical illusion was caused by the state of the clouds. But in a very few minutes more the lower

limb of the moon began to be eaten away by a dense black shadow, and little by little the obscuration extended over the whole orb. The night was unspeakably solemn. In that eclipse of the moon I had before me the representation of Palestine under the degrading tyrannies of Islam. While we ascended the slopes this eclipse went through its various stages, and before we reached the Holy City it had passed away. Above Mount Zion and the Valley of the Kedron and the Mount of Olives hung the orb of night in fleckless azure, and the outlook into the heavens above, as into the heavens within the soul appeared supernatural. I do not know when, by any entrance into Jerusalem, which I have approached from various points three or four times in two different visits to the Holy Land, I have been so impressed as by this approach during an eclipse and by this entrance after its departure. That orb in the top of the heavens is reformed Palestine, and I believe that we shall see the orb floating unobscured just as soon as Turkish power is driven out of Europe and Asia Minor, and may God speed the day of such deliverance. Would God that Palestine were under a wise European protectorate.

### Two Englands.

Does England want Egypt? Yes and no. Sir [turning to Dr. Taylor], I speak with bated breath this morning, for I know how dear our mother islands are to one born in them, how dear to us whose ancestors lived for hundreds of years in these same green caskets of the sea. There are two Englands. A Republican England, which believes in government of the people, for the people, and by the people, and an England, also, of the privileged classes, which has very haughty, imperialistic ideas and precedents. Republican England does not want Egypt. Republican England is no more aggressive than our

republic is. It is as anxious to do justice to every weak nation on the borders of the British Empire as we, since the abolition of slavery, are anxious to do justice to our neighbours. But imperialistic England, sometimes called Tory England, is yet a mighty force in history, and its last and probably greatest leader, Lord Beaconsfield, was accustomed to say that England is essentially an Asiatic power. That party wishes to make England an African power, as well as an Asiatic, and it may yet have opportunity to do so. It is to be remembered that Mr. Bright resigned his position in a proud British Cabinet because he felt that the moral law was not observed in the actions of England towards Egypt. Mr. Gladstone, replying to his former colleague, said that he and Mr. Bright agreed perfectly as to the general proposition that the moral law applies to the relations of nations, as well as to those of individuals; but that they differed as to the application of that law to the particular case of Egypt. The Brights and Gladstones and those who follow them will treat Egypt, I have no doubt, with perfect justice. I am not assailing the party they represent; but the imperialistic party may come to power in Parliament at any time. It has fought unjust wars in China sometimes, in India not twice or thrice only, in South Africa at least once, and not infrequently in the Levant. That party is exceedingly anxious that the whole of Egypt, as well as the Suez Canal, should be under British control. I am no prophet; but I kept my ears open and eyes, I hope, when I was in the Levant, and here are some of the advanced ideas that were floating through the air.

### Revival of the Caliphate.

When Turkey is driven out of Europe, there is likely to be a revival of the Caliphate. Who says this? Nearly

every able man that you meet among the Arabs and Turks and Egyptians. At Jerusalem I heard of nothing so much in the political world as the probable revival of the Caliphate. You know there are only about 2,100,000 of the Turkish Mohammedans in Europe; but there are 175,000,000 of Mohammedans in the world, and of these only 20,000,000 are Turks. Now, what if these 2,100,000 Mussulmans in Europe should be unseated from the saddle of Constantinople? What if the prestige of their present position should be lost? Do you believe that the vast majority of Mohammedans who are Arabs would consent to be dominated by 20,000,000 Turks, who would have no Constantinople to give them *éclat?* The truth is that the downfall of Constantinople as a Turkish capital would very probably be followed by an effort to re-establish the Caliphate and to place it either at Cairo or at Mecca; at least, under Arab control, somewhere in the more southern lands of Islam.

Here is a very recent elaborate English book on the future of Islam, written by a gentleman who spent a long time in Mecca. ("The Future of Islam," by W. S. Blunt. London, 1882.) He enters into the matter as a politician, and arranges 175,000,000 of the Moslem world in their subdivisions, and he makes out a strong case to the effect that England ought to aid the re-establishment of the Caliphate, to put itself into the position of protector of the Caliphate, and thus draw under its general political influence the whole world of Islam. That is an imperialistic idea. There would be vigorous opposition to it made by Republican England. Parties in Great Britian are keenly divided about the English Egyptian policy; but it is a sign of the times when Joseph Cowen, member of Parliament, goes to Newcastle, and affirms in a public speech that England must annex Egypt, and that her doing this will be the destruction of the European Turkish

empire and the beginning of the North African British Empire. Many a friend of the Beaconsfield foreign policy thinks that England has as much right to govern in Cairo as she has to rule in Calcutta. Many a recent British political essay maintains precisely this proposition. (See Dicey's "Egypt" and G. W. Vyse's "Egypt.") Egypt is the key to the whole British Empire. There is no safety for England's interest in the Suez Canal, unless as certain writers think, England governs the whole of Egypt. She must govern the Canal or put herself in danger of losing India. So considerate, so tender-hearted, so Christian a man as David Livingstone once said, in Bombay, with the applause of a great audience, that what England has done for India she must ultimately do for all Africa.

### England in Egypt.

Over the taffrail of many a ship I have leaned with British officers, naval and civil, who were friends of the imperialistic policy in English politics, and have heard them say: "We must take Egypt. If we do not, France will. We must extend our dominions up the Nile; we must push our Cape settlements north, through the Dutch colonies; and who knows but that we shall ultimately annex Liberia to Sierra Leone?" Only the other day, a British ship off the coast of Liberia demanded, in the haughty, imperialistic tone which republican England detests as much as you and I do, the rectification of a certain boundary according to English ideas. We find our American Stanley in conflict at the centre of Africa, at this moment, with French authorities. He represents Belgium. The great powers of the world have their eye on Africa, and England means to have her usual share—that is, the lion's half. It is no doubt true, that there is vehement opposition to

these ideas in England. Over many a taffrail of a ship I have leaned, with republican English gentlemen, of Mr. Bright's or Mr. Gladstone's opinions, and heard them say: "We do not want Egypt. To annex it to the Empire would bring us into war with the great powers of Europe. If we were to try and keep it, we could not manage it so as to make it profitable to ourselves, and the complications it might lead to, if we were to take it, no man can foresee. Under Gladstone we should never attack Egypt. We must hold our place in the Canal—the world agrees that we should have free passage through it; but what do we want of Egypt as a whole? Perhaps we ought to control one railway across the Delta; and by-and-by there may be a railway opened down the Euphrates Valley, giving us a new road to India." It is a marvel to all Americans that one has not been built long ago. With such a railway open to her use, if not under her control, and with another across Egypt, it is very difficult to see why England needs the whole of Egypt; but the imperial party has always had large wants. We can govern Egypt, some Englishmen say, better than her own people can; therefore, we ought to do it. Over and over again the imperialistic party has attacked weak nations in the Orient, for no other reason than to advance British interests.

What is the secret whisper of diplomacy in Europe? Let England have Egypt; let the Ottoman Empire be driven out of Europe; let Russia have a large part of Asia Minor and, perhaps, Constantinople, if she will not attack England when she takes Egypt; let France have Tunis; let Italy have, perhaps, Tripoli; let Germany and Austria move down the Danube. Who knows but that Austria and Germany may unite in making annexations along the valley of that river, when the Turks are driven out, and so be prevented from attacking England,

if she wishes to put Egypt in her waistcoat-pocket. At any rate, it will be essential to fill the mouth of the northern bear with a fat slice of Asia Minor, and, possibly, by that huge sweet morsel, for which the bear has been longing for so many centuries, a passage out of the Black Sea into the Mediterranean, and a strong foothold in Constantinople itself. Perhaps these rearrangements of the map could be made and no great war happen.

Napoleon used to say: "Whoever governs Egypt is best qualified to govern both Europe and Asia." He wished to deprive the British Empire of its possessions in the East and to restore the ancient road to India. He wrote to the French Directory: "By seizing and holding Egypt, I grasp and command the destinies of the civilized world." Napoleon professed the Mohammedan faith when he went into his Egyptian campaign. There are documents, which lately have come to light, showing that Napoleon had mighty schemes of Asiatic dominion, and that this profession of the faith of Islam was intended to be the commencement of the fulfilment of gigantic projects as to the world of Islam. If he had succeeded in Egypt—if British naval power had brought no speedy end to the career of the great Bonaparte in the valley of the Nile, who knows but that his wings would have spread ultimately from Gibraltar to the foot of the Himalayas? His ghost walks yet in the shadows of the Pyramids, as well as on the banks of the Seine. There are men advising England now to follow the old Napoleonic ideas. France is too much divided against herself to carry out the schemes of her greatest emperor. England has the power, and if she can buy off Germany and France and Italy, and most especially Russia, who knows but that she will execute the mighty plan of the great Napoleon?

# THE PRELUDE.

## Revivals True and False.

Spiritual efficiency is the measure of the worth of all creeds, sects, and churches. Efficiency in what? In delivering men from the love of sin and the guilt of it. We know beyond a peradventure that without this double deliverance there can be no peace under the moral law which conscience reveals, and which ethical science itself proclaims, and which all the pages of revelation flame with, like so many Sinais. Lessing said that the ultimate test of the worth of sects would be found in their ability to produce new men, religious lives, spiritually regenerate populations. This is nothing but the yet unfathomed saying of the Scriptures: "By their fruits ye shall know them"—that is, creeds, theologies, sects, churches, ages. This is the scientific test, this is the Biblical test, and to this crucial standard of judgment we must bring unflinchingly our luxurious churches, loose-thinking and siren pulpits.

American theology has been full of faults, which it becomes us to remember with humiliation of spirit; but it has had, also, by the blessing of Heaven, a few peculiar excellencies, which have sprung, no doubt, in part from the necessities of our condition and in part from the traits of American character. It becomes us to recognize these excellencies with gratitude as Divine gifts. We are regarded as a practical nation, and I am willing to maintain the proposition that our theology is richer than any other on earth on the practical side. As a means of

producing, by the blessing of Heaven, new lives in large populations, I had rather have scholarly and aggressive American theology of the New England new school type, or of the Methodist type, or of the Presbyterian, Baptist, or Episcopalian than average German, Anglican, or even Scottish theology. Since the days of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield and John Wesley, no Church on earth has been more distinguished than the American for revivals, unless it be the Scottish, in the time of the covenanting contest, or possibly the German, in a few of its most heroic years. In a large outlook over the effect of presentations of religious truth to large populations, American theology, regarded as a summary of the points in which our Evangelical bodies agree, and judged mercilessly by its fruits, need not as yet blush at its comparative record.

At this moment Professor Christlieb, of Bonn, is endeavouring to introduce into Germany several of the methods of the free churches in Great Britain and the United States as a means of putting an end to the torpor, the barrenness, the iciness of much of the life of the State churches in connection with an unscriptural eschatology which it has been my fortune here to oppose of late. While a few people on this side of the Atlantic seem anxious to transplant from Germany the ideas that have produced torpor there, and are at the bottom of a large part of the spiritual barrenness of the European State churches, the most Evangelical of the German professors are endeavouring to transplant into Germany the incisive practical ideas and methods of aggressive Evangelical Christianity as they have been developed in Scotland and England, and especially under the free-church system of the United States. Would to God there were a thousand Edwardses, a thousand Whitefields, a thousand Wesleys, a thousand Lyman Beechers, a thousand Finneys, a thousand

Moodys on the globe, and that ten of each of these classes could go around the world as evangelists every ten years!

The churches of different nations are rapidly acquiring a better knowledge of each other. National deficiencies ought to be supplemented by international imitations. The learning of the German universities is superior to ours. In a great variety of particulars we are behind Germany in matters of theoretical and scientific import; but we are in advance of Germany in the practical matters of church life. We are in advance of England as a whole; we are ahead of every nation on earth in this matter, probably, unless it be Scotland, and are likely soon to be in advance of Scotland herself. Filling up our deficiencies by the study of those traits which supplement our own, let us be careful to have proper reverence for the gifts God has poured out upon American Christianity; let us reverence the practical side of aggressive Evangelical Christian work; let us see to it we do not lose the traits which the rest of the world needs. We seem to be singled out by Providence for the defence of those aggressive methods by which free churches can become strong in free States, and by which alone Republics can be made safe. Nothing, according to my judgment, is more needed to-day in German church life, or in the average Anglican, or in that portion of the Church of Scotland that is yet an establishment, or by Protestantism on the Continent of Europe at large, than an imitation of American Evangelical aggressive methods. This may look like egotism; but I am not an evangelist, I am not a preacher. I am simply a student of the signs of the times, a lecturer, a friend of the Church. The American methods of revival work in its best form, experience has shown to be superior to any which have been developed on foreign shores. We need not go abroad for instruction in the practical matters of Christian aggressiveness.

After this glimpse of the whole field of the world and of its relations to our own country, let me raise the central question: What will be the leading characteristics of the Church for the times, if we are to take American experience as indicating the probable lines of development in Christian aggressiveness in free churches in ages to come?

1. The church for the times will reach the whole population.

John Wesley said once: "Beware how you invite rich men into your churches until you are sure they are Christian. Beware how you manage your churches in such a way that rich men will become a necessity to you. If your church buildings are so luxurious that you need an enormous income, wealthy men will be necessary to you, and they will rule you, and then you must soon bid farewell to Methodist discipline, and, perhaps, to Methodist doctrine." A wiser thing was never said. A more unpopular thing, perhaps, could hardly be repeated at this hour; but the truth is, and, as I am not a pastor or preacher, and as nobody can suppose that I am making oblique personal references here, I venture to say—that even in Republican America, and especially in the wealthy and fashionable society of cities, there are a great many luxurious churches that do not want poor men as members. When a revival occurs, the question concerning many converts is, not "Are they soundly Christian?" but "How much are they worth?" "What is their social standing?" "Am I willing to have one of these converts next me in a pew?" "Are they likely to add anything important to the financial or social strength of our society?" Under the voluntary system we must have money and must draw rich men into the churches; but, if they stand there on their money-bags, and ask to be measured not according to the height of their Christian character, but

according to the height of these pedestals of worldliness—wealth, social position, hereditary rank, connection with public affairs—then I say the time has come for us to cast abroad God's truths as scythes to mow down all these unnatural growths! On the floor of God's house he is tallest who is nearest to God.

Let nobody suppose that I am opposing rich men as a class. A man is a man, even though his father was rich. There have been in this country, and there are now among us, rich men who are apostles. Lately there fell in New York City the central trunk of a banyan tree, of which it has been well said by Dr. Cuyler that it threw down a stem into almost every land of the globe. William E. Dodge spread abroad his benefactions, his personal Christian effort, his oversight of greaf religious enterprises, until he was a power in India, a power in the Sandwich Islands, a power in Japan, a power in half the States of this Union. We have many men, not known to the public and not very wealthy, who are the almoners of the churches, of the philanthropic institutions, of the colleges and the schools. On the whole, there is no country in the world were wealth is more generous than here, unless it be Great Britain, and wealth there is in a few channels. It is concentrated in a privileged class and in a powerful middle class, so that the comparison can hardly be made at all points with fairness. Everything considered, I regard our wealthy men as princes of generosity. But the time comes, occasionally, when it is necessary to say that men must be measured by character, and not by their purses or their social pedestals. We must resist, therefore, the idea that any church is too good to be enlarged from any part of the population of a city. For one, I think, there is no church even in Boston that ought to be above adding to its membership converts from the North End. I have heard of a church in New

York City that lost a large part of its membership by people emigrating up the island, and, finally, the population around it became so bad that, according to Dr. Pentecost's admirable statement, the church itself emigrated. There were no longer any people around it which its members cared to associate with.

These shrewd pastors behind me are men of bravery. They have entered the ministry not from financial motives, for there are no financial motives to lead a man into the ministry. These men have obtained a collegiate education, they have gone through long years of professional training, and now they stand as God's apostles before the masses of the people. They preach to save souls, and yet there are times when even their courage is tried by lofty pride in wealthy churches, an unexpressed feeling that some men are too poor or too corrupt in their past connections and too low in their present social standing to be attractive persons in a luxurious house of God. I call any such house of God a club-house. I call a luxurious church that is not ready to receive membership from any quarter of the population a social preserve, and not a church.

The two worst evils of our time inside the domain of Christendom are probably luxurious living among church members and loose thinking among religious teachers. And when the two go together, and we have a religious club instead of a church—a club in which, of course, it would be uncourteous to suppose that there are any sinners, a club that has forgotten that all men are brethren, and that the business of the church is to stand between the living and the dead; when we have a number of such churches connected by close social ties, and, perhaps, giving direction to great central currents in the religious life of a city, the time, then, has come to awaken all the powers of the pulpit and the press and the platform

against the choking of God's most holy truth by purse-strings and by ribbons and by dashes of the lavender waters of liberalism. I am speaking very frankly; but the truth is that the case needs stern surgery. Our population is a fifth in large cities; and, under the voluntary system in the United States, it is likely to be our prevailing trouble that, when Judas carries the bag and betrays his Lord, he will not always have the grace to go and hang himself, and you will not have the grace to hang him.

2. The church for the times will emphasize the hidden half of Christian unity. It will call often for union meetings of all denominations and organize united efforts for common purposes.

3. It will ascertain what hinders individuals from accepting Christianity; it will receive questions and organize searching inquiries as to the current obstacles to conversion.

If I were a pastor, I should do again what I did once, when for a year I was acting pastor: keep a question-box open constantly for those timid people who cannot go to a pastor's study and discuss their difficulties with him. I might have a committee to examine the questions and weed out frivolous and vexatious ones; but very few of these would be put in, after all, as you would find by experience. Several pastors, to my knowledge, have tried question-boxes in their churches, and, with a certain wise oversight, differing in each individual case, these enterprises have turned out well. Either in my Sabbath-school or at the church-door I would have a question-box always open for anonymous written inquiries on the topics discussed in the pulpit or in the Sabbath-school. I would bring out in all ways the secret intellectual and moral difficulties of my parish, and thus I would learn to fire, not into the air, but at the white of the eye. Romanism

has its confessional, and Protestantism ought to be permitted to have its question-box, to reveal the wants of the people. The secret of securing attention is to say the thing that needs to be said; but one method of ascertaining what needs to be said is to study carefully the secret questions the people are raising.

4. The church for the times will teach church members to give a reason for the faith that is in them.

There ought to be in every Sunday-school one class in Christian apologetics, besides occasional courses of lectures on this subject before every congregation.

5. The church for the times will teach all church members to converse on personal religion with the religiously irresolute.

In the winter season most of the devotional meetings of the church, or, at least, one such meeting a week, ought to be closed by conversations between the church members present and any religiously irresolute persons who are willing to remain for such conversations. At a devotional meeting, you have made an earnest address on some incisive point of evangelical truth, you announce the doxology; but, before it is sung, you give notice that all who are religiously irresolute are requested to remain for conversation with church members. If any must leave, they go out while the hymn is being sung, but those who remain by that act open the door to conversation. Without any discourtesy, you may approach such persons on the most sacred topics of personal religion. Let your church members converse with every one of those who remain; go with these members yourself, and hear enough of the conversation to know whether wise advice is given. You say church members cannot be trusted to do this work? They can with a proper amount of teaching from their pastor. He is a wretched church member who does not know how to answer the

question "What must I do to be saved?" But here is a man whose bargains have run as close to lies the last week, it may be, as the eyelid to the eyeball, and the neighbour he has cheated sits at his side, and this shrewd merchant is expected to talk with his neighbour on the conditions of salvation. The discipline is as good for the merchant as for his neighbour. Nothing makes a live man out of a dead man so soon as to set the dead man at the work of producing life in another dead man. These conversations quicken the church immensely, and I believe ought to be made a standard part of devotional meetings in the church, in our climate, in the winter. But the whole world is not in our climate. There are churches that ought to be like the tropical forests, always bringing forth fruit, always filled with blossoms—buds here opening, fruit there dropping. Our seasons are such that in the long evenings of winter we have special opportunities; and this proves only that our church affairs should be managed something as the agricultural affairs of our zone are. Let us always be preparing to put in the seed, or putting in seed, or protecting seed that has been put in, or reaping the harvest.

5. The church for the times will prepare for revivals, as the spring prepares in its earlier for its later season.

6. The church for the times will protect the fruit of revivals, as the summer ripens the births of spring.

My central idea concerning revivals is, that what are called the evils of revivals, by those who oppose them, usually arise because proper work has not been done before the revivals, or proper work is not done after them. A revival is only like the opening of the clouds in the spring and the beating down of the sunlight; or, like the dropping of the gentle showers and the vernal rains. What will the sunlight, what will the rain do, without the deep planting of the seed, or without the careful

watching of the fields after the tender shoots have sprung forth?

Mr. Moody's revivals, I believe, have turned out thoroughly well in every case where they have been followed up properly. On both sides of the Atlantic I have watched public sentiment concerning his work. I confess that I am one of his most earnest admirers. I offer prayer every day of my life that God will pour out upon his labours blessing above all I can ask or think. A few men say his work here or there has not eventuated well. Did the pastors follow it up? Was the seed deeply planted before he came? He is nothing but the shower; he is nothing but the opening in the clouds. God seems to speak through some evangelists; he gives them power to open the heavens and let the sunlight in upon spiritual fields. By endowment of heaven, this capacity was in Edwards, it was in Whitefield, it was in Wesley and Finney, and it is in many an evangelist of to-day, thank God; but we must remember that the planting of the seed and the attending to the green shoots are quite as important as allowing the sunlight and rain to fall upon the fields. In this city I happen to know that certain revered pastors—who sit on this platform at this moment and whom I must not name—have followed up carefully the converts who came forward in their fields of labour in Mr. Moody's revival; and that, if you go to these pastors and ask what has been the result of Mr. Moody's effort here, they will say it has been glorious. In two or three instances reformed drunkards have become large benefactors of the churches, both spiritually and financially. The men who have followed up these converts give you a good report of Mr. Moody's work; but the men who folded their hands, the men who said "Let the harvest take care of itself," the men who were immersed in luxurious lives, and had torpid congregations, and who did not care to

soil the skirts of their churches with any acquisitions from unpopular portions of our masses—these persons, if you approach them, have, usually, only a cold answer to give to any question as the effect of Mr. Moody's work here. I care nothing for the answers of such men. I repudiate such men as authorities concerning this work. Greatly as we in America revere Mr. Moody's work, I found in Edinburgh deeper reverence for it than I find, on the whole, in Boston. I found in London, on the whole, higher esteem for it than I have been able to find, usually, in New York. On both sides of the Atlantic, wherever I have been in fields he has visited, I have had abundant proof that his work, when followed up by the local pastors, has eventuated successfully. Look at Oxford! Were not the young men reached there? Why were they reached? Chiefly because God's truth was boldly preached and made fruitful by His Spirit; but partly, also, because Mr. Moody's hands were held up by men of position in the Established Church. Were his hands held up here? Did Harvard professors stand by him here, as Oxford professors stood by him in the British Islands, as Edinburgh professors stood by him in Scotland? I happen to know a dozen glorious men of learning who thought it an honour to go into the inquiry meetings and converse with the religiously irresolute in Edinburgh and in London.

Dr. Crafts, of Brooklyn, lately sent out an hundred letters to preachers and Sabbath-school superintendents, and put the question: "How many of you came into the church during periods of religious awakening, commonly called revivals?" The answer was, four-sevenths. As I part from this theme, I shall do a very audacious thing. I will explain exactly what I mean to do, so that none of you can suppose I am trying to catch any of you unawares. I am about to ask all Christians in this

assembly to rise—all Christians, Protestant or Romish, Evangelical or Unevangelical. This is putting the case very broadly and at a disadvantage to the propositions I am defending. Then I am to ask all those Christians to sit down who did not come into the church in some period of religious awakening, by which I mean a period in which a considerable number came into the church under special effort. I do not mean a month's special effort, or that the effort was in the Methodist form, or the Congregationalist, or the Presbyterian, or the Episcopalian. I mean simply a religious awakening, occurring under some particular measures, to make religion a personal matter. How many of the Christians in this assembly came into the church under such effort? I believe we shall find that more than half did so.

8. In every religious service the church for the times will make religion a personal matter, and will preach so as to secure immediate decision of the soul to accept God in Christ as both Saviour and Lord.

We have had preaching to the intellect, we have had preaching to the emotions, we have had preaching to the fancy; the time is coming when no preaching will be considered thoroughly evangelical unless it is addressed to the will. In every religious service religion ought to be made in some way a personal matter. I would have every prayer include in it petitions implying the total self-surrender of the will to God. It is a serious conviction of mine that we might improve the ordinary form of pronouncing the benediction. Perhaps it is not too much to say that no man has a right to pronounce the benediction. We have a right to invoke it; but we can invoke it effectively only by total self-surrender to God. I wish every religious service were closed by a form including the petition "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done in us every one this instant

as in Heaven;" and then a moment of silent self-consecration, implying that every individual is reined up to the duty of immediate, total, affectionate self-surrender to God as both Saviour and Lord, after which I would have the benediction pronounced upon all such as have thus surrendered. In Calcutta, Keshub Chunder Sen, leader of the Theistic movement in India, has arranged a ritual for his people, who are not Christians, but believers simply in a personal God and providence and prayer. At one point of that service which the ritual provides for the congregation all rise and utter the words "Give us light," and then remain in silent prayer for some seconds. A little later the congregation, with the minister, call out: "Victory to God!" "Victory to God!" Then there is another silent prayer. At the end of that inexpressibly solemn devotion the pastor says: "Peace!" "Peace!" This is imitated from Christianity; but I wish that in our Christian rituals there were something like it. Unless we have this address to the will, we leave out the most effective portion of every religious service. Only those who say "Victory to God" deserve to have or can have the benediction effectively pronounced over them. I am not a friend of innovations; but I wish exceedingly that in the ordinary closing of religious exercises there were always something to rein up every hearer to total self-surrender to God.

Now, my friends, you will favour me with this expression which I have explained in advance, and on which I have allowed you time to think. Will all Christians in this assembly please rise? [Apparently 2,500 of an audience of over 3,000 rose.] Really, this is an expression that I did not expect. This assembly represents all the Evangelical bodies. It is a most cheerful fact that certainly more than 2,000 people rise here as Christians. Will such of you as did *not* come into the church in some

period of special religious awakening, commonly called a revival, such of you as did *not* come in through a gateway of special religious effort, sit down, and will the rest remain standing? [The request was heeded.] My friends, it is certain that, at least, four-sevenths of the 2,000 or more Christians of this assembly have remained standing: two-thirds, some of the gentlemen behind me say, some three-fourths. I thank you most cordially for this expression. Any form of special religious effort that has brought half or four-sevenths of our Christians into the church is sufficiently justified in experience by the Divine approval.

# LECTURE.

## VIII.

## ADVANCED THOUGHT IN INDIA.

THROUGH the gate of the Red Sea, Sinai on the left, the Pyramids on the right, you enter the Indian Ocean, the North Star hanging low behind your ship, and the Southern Cross rising out of the ocean in front.

### THE RED SEA.

At Aden you see a British Gibraltar—an island that is little more than a cinder, but carved into military might, heavy batteries frowning from the lower, middle, and upper slopes, great reservoirs for water in a rainless region, 30,000 people, large military detachments, huge men-of-war, a position that dominates Arabia and North-western Africa, and, of course, insures a proper respect for British interests in the whole length of the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. Nowhere on the highways of travel around the earth do you find a hotter region than between the sands of Arabia and those of Sahara. On your tour around the world, you afterwards cross the Equator, once in the region of the East Indies and again south of the Sandwich Islands; but you suffer little from heat in the former case, and in the latter, under the cold trade winds from the Andes, you cross the Line in your ulster. In the Red Sea, however, it is possible that you may need a double Scotch cap, with the interstices filled with pounded ice, to prevent sunstroke. Many a poor invalid has had just this precaution provided for him. In spite of the

broad punkah which servants of the ship now swing above your table in the cabin, in spite of your constant use of the wide fans of the Orient, in spite of your dressing as nearly as possible in gauze, in spite of your punctual attendance to your baths, in spite of your total abstinence, you need to guard against sunstroke by a helmet sun-hat. At Suez you provide yourself with a solar *topée*, you carry everywhere in the sunshine an umbrella, covered on the outside with white. There is a fierceness in the sunbeams utterly unknown to one who has not been in the Tropics, something searching and deadly in the impact of the radiance, even at sunrise, but especially when the sun is directly overhead or in the mid-afternoon sky. "Stand out of the sunshine! Keep out of the glare of the sun!" You hear constantly these directions given in anxious tones to inexperienced children. You fall into the habit of holding your eyelids half closed, a tendency which your present lecturer has not yet overcome and perhaps never will. You are sometimes in a ship that moves with a slow wind, and so you have no relief afforded by the breezes of the ocean. Occasionally a ship has been known to turn about in the Red Sea, reverse its course, lose time, and move against the wind for a few hours, in order to relieve its passengers from the effects of the intolerable heat. There is, however, in the Red Sea, as there is not in the cool season at Bombay, a great difference between the temperature at night and by day. The sands radiate heat rapidly. There is an Arabian proverb which says that "the servant in the coolness of the morning forgot to provide water for the heat of the day." Even in the Red Sea, however, there is a little relief in the nights, but in Bombay and Calcutta none at all. You sleep on deck, you take every precaution; but even in December, when the sun is south of the Equator, you come out of this terrific funnel between the two hottest deserts in the world, glad ex-

ceedingly to find yourself in average health. If you see the open Indian Ocean without anything like dizziness or the approaches of sunstroke, you may regard yourself as probably proof against the heats of India in its cooler season and of the Equator on the sea in any part of the world. Whoever has gone through the Red Sea in August unscathed is likely to be able to look the sun in the eye anywhere on the planet.

### Landing in Bombay.

How shall I approach the land of pearls and palms, of religions more ancient than Christianity, of philosophies which were old when Greece was young? You are afloat on the Indian Ocean, and Hindustan has not yet come into sight, and you gather up the little knowledge you may have acquired and endeavour to form a picture of the country you are about to visit. You have in your hand a globe, the companion of many a studious hour, and you notice that India, from north to south—that is, from the top of Cashmere to Cape Comorin—is as long as a line from Boston to Pike's Peak. A line of similar length on the map of Europe extends from Gibraltar to Constantinople. The breadth of India, from the westernmost mouth of the Indus to the easternmost mouth of the Ganges, is slightly more than the distance from Boston to Omaha, or from Paris to St. Petersburgh. The distance from Bombay to Calcutta is only that from Boston to St. Louis.

Gibbon estimated that imperial Rome, at the height of her power, governed only 120,000,000 of men. The British Empire governs in India alone 250,000,000. India is only as large as all Europe, less Russia; but it has a population as large as that of Europe. In a territory only about as large, to speak roundly, as that of the United States east of the Mississippi and Missouri, India

has five times our present population. You think that here will be opportunity for usefulness, indeed, if only the English tongue is apprehended by the masses of the people. You ask whether it will be possible to gather large assemblies to listen to discussions on religious and philosophical themes exclusively in the English tongue. You are in great doubt as to what may happen; but you are resolved to be a student, at least, and yet you leave open half the time for the work of lecturing. In regard to this latter matter you make no predictions; you promise yourself absolutely nothing. You have been told in Edinburgh and elsewhere that there is no opportunity on earth for usefulness through English lectures like that in India at the present moment; but you have not credited this statement. You have regarded it as, perhaps, only an indication of sentimental attachment to India, or of a desire to encourage you in a difficult enterprise.

It is a glorious morning in the Orient. Far over the purple and azure waves toward the sunrise you see, for the first time, the Western Ghauts, that jagged ridge which shuts out the ocean from India on the west. A little later the spires and domes of a city come into view at the foot of low hills, clad with palms and mango trees, and a great variety of strange tropical vegetation. In another half hour, after turning a picturesque point of land, you are afloat in a magnificent harbour, large enough to hold all the British fleets, and alive with shipping of all nations. You land at a massive granite pier, at the edge of a great esplanade, in the second city of the British Empire—queenly Bombay. You have landed with speed; otherwise you would have been met by a steam launch, containing a lecture committee. That launch is on the water and chases you in, and before you reach your hotel the committee overtakes you. To make

a long story short, that evening and the next day about a dozen prominent merchants, preachers, and civilians, arrange for a course of six or eight lectures, to be given, in one of the largest halls, and the city is at once placarded from end to end—with what subjects? Philosophical themes, religious topics; nothing very sensational about the titles, no music promised, a prominent presiding officer mentioned in connection with each lecture—an important matter in any British community!

The great esplanade of Bombay is surrounded by magnificent government buildings, with deep verandas, under screens. Everything in the architecture suggests the necessity of protection against heat. The city is young. It was not built and rebuilt; at least, the British part was not. This municipality is not as old as Boston. You admire the broad streets, laid out by British engineers. Of course, in the native quarters you have hovels and real squalor; but still it is not the squalor of our populations of the temperate zones, for these children have no filthy clothes upon them, they have no clothes at all, except on their heads. Literally the only wardrobe of five children out of ten on the streets consists of anklets and earrings. Bronze, fine bronze, admirable for its quality—that is the complexion of these Hindus of the lower class. It is not a coarse, oleaginous bronze. You learned to admire this bronze when you were at Aden, and saw the Somali boys by scores swimming around your ship. They dive for a shilling or a penny. You throw a piece of silver from the upper deck, and before it has sunk out of reach the Somali boy catches it in the green depths of the sea, in spite of the danger from sharks. You ask him to dive under your ship, or, as the sailors say, to write his name upon the keel of the steamer, and in a few seconds after disappearing at one side he comes up on the other side of the vessel. These

boys swarm on deck. You cannot avoid putting your hand on their curly heads, sometimes on their shoulders. It is a very fine bronze this. Well, the same you see in Hindustan, only a little finer. The first thing that impressed me was the good quality of the temperament of the Hindu. He is supple, subtle, fine, keen-edged. He is not strong. He is enervated, no doubt, by his child-marriages, by the climate, by his diet of rice, by frequent famines, and by poor conditions among the lower classes generally. You find many Brahmins, however, who have this same excellent quality of organization, together with a great deal more quantity. They have physical vigour —not equal to that of the Briton, or German, or American; but they are forceful, as well as keen-edged. The Sikhs and the Rajpoots are tall, well-developed, strong men. The Gourkas, from the slopes of the Himalayas, are short, but thick-set, and famed for military valour. You find, especially, that the Marathi Brahmins, the very best of the Brahmin class, in the central portion of India, have in many cases the real vigour of mountaineers. It is not true that all the natives of India are sheep; nevertheless, your first impression is that they are. The Hindu is ovine, the Briton is bovine, and it is not a wonder that the latter rules the former. The Bengalee is specially timid and inclined to avoid all physical contests. He makes a poor soldier. He usually yielded almost without opposition to those who oppressed him in the days before the East India Company entered upon its career in Hindustan. He has the reputation to this hour of being, physically, a poltroon; but in other respects he has a high character. He makes the best accountant among the races of India. He is a good teacher; he is naturally a writer and speaker. You may say of the Bengalee that he is born with an essay under his arm and a speech on his lips. There are all

classes of Hindus, of course; but the general feeling you have, at first, is that these people would not be great, even if they were Christians; but, after weeks and months, that feeling changes. If your experience is like mine, you come to feel that, if child-marriages were abolished, if polygamy were driven out of all parts of India, if the diet were somewhat changed, if the conditions of life were improved, you might develop, on the Ganges especially, and even further south, a stalwart race, quite worthy of their origin on the slopes of the Himalayas, north of the great wall, which shuts out India from the rest of Asia.

### The English Language in India.

The day comes for the opening of your course of lectures in Bombay, and you expect a great humiliation. You drive down at night along a back street, in order to be ready to hide your diminished head; but you find that the great hall which has been engaged is already overflowed and that hundreds are being turned away. I am anxious to do justice to India, and by showing what you experience there, I shall show what India is. You say this gathering must have been drawn together by the name of the chairman. It is, of course, not a ticketed assembly. Here are, you think, before you go into the house, the English people of Bombay, who, perhaps, may have thought it something of a novelty to listen to a lecturer from America, and, perhaps, they have come out to sneer. You have more enemies in this gathering, probably, than friends. You go before that assembly as you go before every one, if your experience is like mine, resolved to remember your enemies, and never to overrate the friendship of any audience before which you may stand. But you enter the house and look about almost in vain, outside the platform, for an English or American face. Red and

white turbans are packed to the roof. You turn to your chairman and say: "Where are the police? There will be disorder here if I deliver to this audience the lecture I had in mind. I may not please all these Hindus." "Speak here as you would in London. Speak here as you would in Edinburgh," he replies. "There is no need of policemen here. There are four in the hall; but they will not be required. This audience will be as orderly as any you ever met in the British Empire." But you say: "They cannot understand English, all of them, and I cannot promise, knowing nothing of this assembly, to keep the house quiet. I am a perfect novice here and might easily make very grave mistakes." The chairman says: "Go forward as you would in London or Edinburgh. I will be responsible for the rest." You soon find that a Bombay Hindu audience understands English apparently as well as this Boston assembly does. In the sea of Oriental faces, keen, incisive countenances flash out. The bronze glows like coloured porcelain, with a light behind it. Bright eyes meet yours, and you notice this under the red turban, you notice this under the Parsee hat; and the Parsees, by the way, are simply a fragment of the old Persian race, somewhat acclimated in India. They are the foremost mercantile class and are well represented here. Nearly all of them speak English perfectly. After addressing this assembly for a few minutes, you come to feel that there is no danger of disorder or of your being misunderstood. The next night a considerable number of seats are sold, in order that those people who cannot come until late may have an opportunity of getting places. In this way your lecture committee has a slight income; but you have made up your mind not to charge anything for your work on missionary soil. There is an income from the necessary sale of seats to provide people with an opportunity of being present under pleasant circumstances; but, without

this, there would have been nothing to provide for the expenses, except what generous Christian merchants and civilians gave for the support of the course of discussions. After three nights in this large hall, you are turned out of it, on account of the numbers who are not able to get in. You go into the Town Hall, the very largest assembly room in the city, holding about as many as Tremont Temple, and you find it necessary to go early there, if you are to obtain a seat. The people have to stand—large numbers of them. Each lecture is nearly two hours long. A course of six lectures closes with a call for two or three additional ones. At last, terribly overworked, you fly out of Bombay, supposing that this is the only city in India, unless it be Calcutta or Madras, that will give you audiences that understand English thoroughly well. You have a similar experience in Calcutta, a similar one in Madras. You are convinced that in the great Presidential cities English is well enough understood to enable you to address audiences in that tongue. Between Bombay and Calcutta, however, you give lectures to fine audiences in Poona, Ahmednagar, Lucknow, and Allahabad. Even in fanatical Benares, on the bank of the Ganges, and afterwards in Southern India, in Bangalore and Madura, you have crowded assemblies, made up almost exclusively of natives, who listen to the severest things you are inclined to say concerning the hereditary misbeliefs and the imported unbelief of Hindustan. In the immense Town Hall at Calcutta many hearers are obliged to stand, and the most distant people in your audience are 200 feet away from your platform, and they are natives. You have Chunder Sen to move a vote of thanks at your last lecture, and you come, little by little, into the feeling that the English tongue is the mightiest weapon of public usefulness in Hindustan to-day.

Nowhere, except, perhaps, in the case of the Spanish in South America, has a language spread more rapidly through great populations not born with it on their lips, than English has in India. The Spanish grandees would not condescend to learn the language of their servants. Thus the servants were compelled to learn the language of the masters, and so even savage tribes in South America now sometimes speak Spanish. Surrounded constantly by far too obsequious and cringing Asiatics, the average British official in India does not suffer from a deficient sense of his own personal dignity. He is not eager to learn the dialects of his multitude of servants. They must, therefore, learn English. The classical tongues of India, which are the admiration of all scholars, and almost objects of worship to Brahmins, are, of course, not the vernacular. Hindustanee has wide prevalence, but no one inferior tongue is of universal currency. India has a dozen distinctly different languages, and more than one hundred dialects. University instruction, as conducted under British authority, always requires a knowledge of English. There is a universal demand for instruction in English among the educated classes. A knowledge of it is the avenue to employment in the great mercantile houses, and in the schools, and in the civil service. Two of the greatest names among those of men to whom India is indebted for the early introduction of English into her schools and governmental papers are Alexander Duff and Lord Macaulay.

### Outlook from the Himalayas.

One year ago to-day, my friends, fleeing out of the steaming vat of Calcutta, it was my fortune to begin a short period of rest in the Himalaya Mountains. I summarize my memories of India, usually, by going back to

Darjeeling and looking abroad over all Hindustan, as if the whole of it were in sight.

The Himalayas, as a mountain range, dazzle both Alps and Andes, not out of sight, but into a position of positive inferiority. On a hill in a park at Darjeeling, among tea plantations, you have in view twelve mighty peaks, every one of which is over 20,000 feet high. There is no peak in sight that is not higher than Mont Blanc. You count twenty different elevations, every one overtopping the giant of the Alps. Mont Blanc is less than 16,000 feet high, but Kinchinjunga, on which you look through the unobscured azure of two days, is 28,000 feet in elevation. Mount Everest, which is not always visible from Darjeeling, is 29,000 feet high; but it does not make the impression that Kinchinjunga does, because it is 150 miles away and the latter is only about forty. You remember Mont Blanc as seen from Geneva and Chamounix, and you have immense reverence for Switzerland, its waterfalls, its lakes, its avalanches, its roseate peaks. But Switzerland seems to you like a toy in the presence of the Himalayas. Five miles of the earth's crust thrown into the azure! Here are mountains surpassed nowhere on earth, and nowhere in our range of vision, indeed, except in the moon. The lunar mountains are from thirteen to fifteen miles high, and are rolled over our heads nightly, and are strangely unappreciated. Except the Yosemite valley, there is no mountain scenery that I compare in my secret thoughts with the Himalayas. Of course, the Yosemite is not so grand in height; but there is a certain impressiveness in El Capitan, a combination of beauty and sublimity in the Valley, which makes me put the Yosemite second to the Himalayas, while I place all that Switzerland can show us third in rank among the mighty scenes in mountains on our globe.

Look abroad from the Himalayas, and what do you

see? Three things—first, this unsurpassed range of mountains; next, the northern Indian plain—historic, electric with mighty associations, with political changes, and with the birth of great religions, a brown and green expanse, fringed with palms and bamboos, through which flow the Indus and the Ganges; then, thirdly, the southern portion of the peninsula, high mountains on the west side, low ones on the east, and a triangular stretch of high table-land between them, called the Deccan.

As your memories take you back to it, what is India? It is Bombay, with its mighty harbour, its Elephanta caves, and its multitudinous mixture of sects and nationalities like that of Alexandria of old; it is Allahabad, with its junction of the Jumna and the Ganges; it is Delhi, with its religions and its philosophies; it is Lucknow, with its pathetic memories of the siege of 1857; it is Cawnpore, with its monuments to British martyrs; it is Agra, with the tomb of Akbar and the peerless Taj Mahal, a structure of which Bishop Heber said, most justly, that "it was designed by Titans and finished by jewellers;" it is Benares, with its stately residences for the few and its squalid streets for the many, its gaudy temples, with frivolous or filthy rites, its crowds of pilgrims, bathing in the Ganges, its burning ghats, where the dead are reduced to ashes; it is Calcutta, with its palaces and schools and fleets and toiling thousands; it is Madras, with its surf-boats, its vigorous missions, its firm grasp on both the land and sea. You find India to mean Christianity in conflict with paganism; you find India meaning, at last, the rudder of reform for all Asia. You become attached to this land, because you feel that whoever is useful in India is reaching all Asia at large.

### Leading Dates of Indian History.

As you look abroad over India from the Himalayas, the organizing dates of her history seem to be written in

the sky, and to be whispered to you by her palms and mangoes, her tamarinds and banyans, her bread-fruit trees and bamboos.

1500 B.C.—Events of the mighty epic poem called the Mahabharata.

1400.—Arrangement of the Vedas by Vyasa.

1000.—Events of the epic of Ramayana, by Vahlmiki.

800.—Institutes of Menu.

500 (543).—Gotama Buddha.

337.—Invasion by Alexander.

240–260.—Reign of Asoka.

1217 A.D.—Invasion by Genghis Khan.

1600.—Organization of the East India Company.

1605.—Death of Akbar, two years after the death of Queen Elizabeth of England.

1640.—Founding of Madras and Boston.

1648.—Date of the completion of the Taj Mahal.

1666.—Death of Shah Jehan.

1668.—Bombay begun.

1689.—Calcutta founded.

1707.—Death of Aurunzeb.

1757.—Battle of Plassey.

1857.—Sepoy Mutiny.

1858.—The Queen becomes the direct ruler of India.

1877.—Proclamation of her Brittanic Majesty as Empress of all India.

Xavier (1506–1552) arrived in India as a missionary in 1540; Schwarz (1726–1788) in 1750; Carey (1761–1834) in 1794; Judson (1788–1856) in 1813; Heber (1783–1826) in 1824; Wilson (1804–1875) in 1829; Duff (1806–1878) in 1830. Lord Macaulay was in Calcutta in 1834. The Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were founded in 1857.

## Ten Questions on the Religious Condition of India.

If this audience will bear with me, I will read a few of the scores of questions which I was constantly putting in India, and indicate very briefly the answers which were given to me there :

1. What are the chief religious difficulties of the best educated Hindus, and what are those of the most ignorant?

2. What are the most frequent types in the religious experience of Hindu converts ? That is, by what aspects of Christian truth are the most conversions made ?

3. What are the most mischievious forms of imported unbelief in India ?

Aside from caste and child-marriages, the educated Hindus have the same difficulties that we have. Here is a manuscript, containing a list of subjects which I thought would be useful in India, and, if I were to read them, you would find that they are just the topics now most called for in America and Great Britain. The most ignorant Hindus are under the control of superstition connected with the hereditary misbelief, and here is the power of paganism, here is the horror of a false faith. What is this man doing ? He lies down in the dust and measures his length ; rises to his feet, and then measures his length again. He is passing over hundreds of miles in this way. Why is he going through these austerities ? In order to shorten the eight million four hundred thousand re-births, to cut off some portion of the long line of transmigrations through which men must go. The theory of the average Hindu is that he must be re-born, and that, if he has pre-eminent merit in this life, he will be born on a higher scale. Every man must go through millions of transmigrations, and eminent merit here will lessen the number of these and so bring Heaven

nearer. Austerities of the most horrible kind you see practiced at Benares, and you ask why men endure them; and the answer is: "To shorten the eighty-four." The two wheels on which the chariot of Hinduism in the ignorant populations moves are positive belief in transmigration and in caste. Whoever can break these wheels may smite Hinduism into fragments.

4. Is it advisable, as a general rule, in India that the members of churches, organized by missionary labour, should be taught and expected to pay one-tenth of their income for the support of their churches?

Missionaries of the American Board generally answer this question in the affirmative; but others say, Not yet.

5. What definite plan ought the churches to support for the abolition of the abuses of the opium trade? All Christian India should petition Parliament for the entire abolition of the trade and for such new treaties with China as shall be worthy of Christian statesmanship.

6. What attitude ought the Christian churches to take in India as to the evils of caste? It should never be recognized in the church and constantly opposed outside the church.

7. What ought to be the position of the Christian churches in India as to the mischief of child-marriages? They should petition government to abolish them by law, as it did suttee, or the burning of widows, infanticide, and the exposure of the aged on the banks of the Ganges, and suicide under the wheels of the car of Juggernaut.

8. What is the attitude of English officials and of foreign society in general in India toward the religious reformation of the empire?

Some of the most efficient friends of the missionary effort have been found among the great civilians of India; as, for example, Lord Lawrence and Sir William Bentinck. The Christian fame of a General Havelock has become

one of the treasures of the whole world. It is to be confessed, however, that large parts of fashionable society in governmental circles in India are of too coarse a spiritual fibre to relish aggressive Christian work, or to appreciate the missionary movement which is preparing for India and all Asia a new civilization. It used to be the proverb that Indian officials sent from England leave their Christianity at the Cape of Good Hope, on the voyage out, and take it up again there, on the voyage home. Nothing as cynical as this would now be true.

9. Of what use will an exhaustive study of Oriental false religions, and especially of the sacred books of the Brahmins and the Buddhists, be in the illustration and defence of Christianity?

As Max Müller has said, in his introduction to his edition of the "Sacred Books of the East," he who seriously puts forward any of these as a rival of the Christian Scriptures lacks scholarship. Nevertheless, the best ethical maxims and the noblest imaginative passages of Oriental pagan sacred books have a value of substance, though not of form, perhaps, nearly equal to that of the best ethical and poetical parts of Greek literature. Nothing in history or philosophy, however, in Asiatic pagan books, equals what has been transmitted to us on these topics by the Greeks. The foremost Theists of India have given up wholly the doctrine of the inspiration of the Vedas. Chunder Sen professes solemnly that it is only in the Bible that he and his followers find the satisfaction of their deepest spiritual wants. They know well what the light of Asia is, and affirm that it is twilight. In a thorough study of comparative religion Christianity has nothing to fear and much to gain.

10. What has been the rate of progress of Christianity in India, and what is its present numerical strength in all India and Ceylon?

In the last ten years not only has the ratio of increase of former decades been kept up, but a great advance has been made upon it, especially in India, where the *growth has risen to* 100 *per cent.* It was my fortune to exhibit often to Hindu audiences tables of statistics like these in support of the proposition that Christianity has come to India to stay:—

NATIVE CHRISTIANS.

| | 1851. | 1861. | 1871. | 1881. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| India | 91,092 | 138,731 | 224,258 | 417,372 |
| Burmah | No returns | 59,366 | 62,729 | 75,510 |
| Ceylon | 11,859 | 15,273 | 31,376 | 35,708 |
| Total | 102,951 | 213,370 | 318,363 | 528,590 |

COMMUNICANTS.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| India | 14,661 | 24,976 | 52,816 | 113,325 |
| Burmah | No returns | 18,439 | 20,514 | 24,929 |
| Ceylon | 2,645 | 3,859 | 5,164 | 6,843 |
| Total | 17,306 | 47,274 | 78,494 | 145,097 |

*In the first of these decades the ratio of increase was fifty-three per cent.; in the second, sixty-one per cent.; in the last, eighty-six per cent. In Ceylon the percentage of increase in the past ten years is seventy, while in India it is one hundred. None of the European or American churches can exhibit such an increase.* There is every reason to believe that this rate of increase will be exceeded in the next ten years. (See the New York *Independent* for February 1, 1883, p. 8.) It may be possible, as the *Indian Witness* suggests, that "there are many persons now living who will see from ten to fifteen million Protestant Christians in India before they get their release from toil in this earthly vineyard." The largest aggregate increase of native Christians was *in Madras, where, in place of* 160,955

*Christians ten years ago, there are now* 299,742. The distribution among the provinces and the rate of increase is shown by the following table:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Madras | 299,742 | .. | 86 per cent. |
| Bengal | 83,583 | ... | 67 ,, |
| Burmah | 75,510 | ... | 27 ,, |
| Ceylon | 35,708 | ... | 70 ,, |
| Bombay | 11,691 | ... | 180 ,, |
| N. W. Provinces | 10,300 | ... | 64 ,, |
| Central India | 4,885 | ... | 92 ,, |
| Punjab | 4,672 | ... | 155 ,, |
| Oudh | 1,329 | ... | 111 ,, |

No part of the world can show such a rate of increase of the number of native Christians as India can during the last decade. A mighty avalanche is already poised for falling. The Calcutta Missionary Conference, a most remarkable gathering, containing representatives from all the provinces between the Himalayas and the sea, publishes these statistics, and has but just risen from its knees on the banks of the Hooghly, where it has been offering devout thanks to Almighty God for the progress of Christianity in India at a speed never equalled anywhere on earth except in the time of the Apostles.

# THE PRELUDE.

## Limited Municipal Suffrage for Women.

Why should limited municipal suffrage be granted to women? By limited municipal suffrage is meant the right of voting, limited to city elections and to such women as can read and write and pay a voluntary tax for the privilege of exercising the franchise, and are residents of the cities in which they vote, and in other respects have the qualifications required of male voters.

1. More than a fifth of the population of the United States now lives in cities. The misgovernment, illiteracy, intemperance, and immorality of the larger cities are among the hugest practical evils of our civilization. Whatever will tend to purify great cities effectively will be an incalculably important blessing to the world at large, for the tendency of population to mass itself in cities and the disproportionate growth of crime in cities are phenomena of all advanced modern nations. The success of governments of the people, for the people, and by the people, is inseparably bound up with the success of good government in cities.

2. Self-support is more difficult for women than for men, and so women have selfish reasons which men have not for attachment to the house, and, hence, if they have the power, may be expected to defend the interests of home more carefully than men have done,

It is more difficult for a woman to maintain herself alone than for a man to do so; because the most gainful occupations are not open to her; and because she is

physically unfitted for the severest physical and mental labour; and because natural laws, with a sternness unknown in the case of man, require of woman periodic rest; and because most women, even if they start an independent business, do not expect to maintain it, but to merge it, after marriage, with that of their husband's. In view of the greater difficulty of their self-support, women are more dependent than men on good laws for their protection, and hence may be expected to be more solicitous than men to purify legislation so far as it touches the home, which is the very centre and palladium of free society, and especially of the society of cities.

3. Women, as a class, illiterates excepted, are more free from intemperance and immorality than men, and hence may be expected to cast a purer vote for the reform of cities.

The caution of this proposition is, I hope, not a discourtesy to the sex, whose interest I am endeavouring to defend. Omitting illiterates, chiefly found among women in our recently immigrated population, the very froth of society is almost the only place in which intemperance can be found in this country among females. I am not speaking of England, nor of the Continent; but of the United States. I say, without fear of being successfully contradicted, that in the middle class, if I may use such a phrase here, and in the upper part of what we call the poorer class, and in the lower part of the wealthier class, women in the United States are, as a rule, not only temperate, but abstinent. It is a most amazing thing to find intemperance among women in any of these circles. What we really ought to call the summit of American society is to be found in the best educated and the most efficiently religious, and not in the wealthier classes.

It is only a few years, thank God, since one of the

queens of American society, at the White House, at Washington, turned the wine-glass upside down. That precedent has been set, and will always remain a fact in American history, and it indicates what the real summit of society in America thinks of intemperance.

4. Women, as more dependent on home than men, suffer more from the vices of great cities than men, and hence may be expected to do more for the reform of cities than men have done.

5. By endowment of Heaven, women are more attached to children in their tenderest years than men are, and care more in most cases for the interests of fathers, sons, brothers, and husbands than these male classes do for themselves in matters of morals, and so may be expected to purify the vote of cities in the interests of its households.

6. Municipal suffrage for tax-paying women has worked well for many years in England.

Jacob Bright says he believes England will lead America in the matter of giving municipal suffrage to tax-paying ladies; and, indeed, Great Britain does lead the United States at this moment in the matter; and Scotland is likely soon to lead us, unless reform with us progresses much more rapidly than it has done of late.

7. A general right of suffrage for women has worked well for fourteen years in Wyoming, and the success of the larger privilege of voting justifies a hope that a narrower measure would eventuate well.

You doubt the success of female suffrage in Wyoming Territory. I claim no authority on this matter; but it has been my fortune to visit Wyoming three times and to meet civilians, preachers, and teachers there, and to study carefully the press of the Territory; and my conviction is that it can be established, by overwhelming evidence, that woman suffrage in Wyoming, on the whole, is a success.

As I am not a woman suffragist, I am not led by the necessities of a theory to interpret the experience of Wyoming in a particular way. I hold in my hand a tract, recently issued, a republication of a somewhat elaborate leading article in the Laramie *Sentinel* of February 3rd, 1883, and in it I find that the three Governors of Wyoming, Campbell, Thayer, and Hoyt, all the Governors that the Territory has had since woman suffrage became its law, in 1869, have uniformly endorsed and spoken in the highest terms of its practical workings, in all their messages and official documents. No one can be found to oppose this law who wants to see good government in the Territory. The women prize and exercise their political rights as highly and generally as the men. There is a less percentage of women who stay away from the polls than of men. It is no uncommon thing for wives and husbands to differ in their political opinions; but this, as a rule, produces no ill social effect. It is treated as a circumstance to be looked on with good humour. "Our elections," this authority affirms, "were formerly an improved and revised edition of a Donnybrook Fair. Under the refining influence of woman's presence, they are now as civil, quiet, and orderly as are our churches or any other social gathering."

How do ladies vote in Wyoming? It is perfectly proper for a lady to walk to the polls, with a gentleman as attendant or even alone. In most cases ladies get into their carriages, with their husbands or their sons, and drive to a sort of bay window, and, without stepping out of their carriages, drop their votes into a box at that projection of the office where votes are counted. A most dignified procedure. Poor women may, of course, not go to the polls in carriages; but, with their husbands and sons with them, and under guard of the police, such is American honour that no indignity need be feared for

them, even in the great cities. You think that women cannot vote without mixing with the roughs at the polls It is astounding how beclouded, benighted, belated, and barbaric some of the objections to woman suffrage are, and especially on this very point.

This article closes by saying: "We speak that which we know, and, as an evidence of good faith, we write and publish this here at home, where all the facts are known, and where, if we mis-stated or misrepresented the matter, it would be at our own peril." For ten years such documents as these have been published in Wyoming. I have taken pains to gather everything I could find opposed to this evidence. Very kind friends have sent me official publications again and again from Wyoming—civilians, as well as preachers. I have a substantial stack of documents on this question from that Territory. The truth is that the preponderating opinion goes to show that Wyoming is satisfied that woman suffrage is, on the whole, beneficial to her, and she would not go back if she could to the old arrangements.

8. Women are less connected than men with partisan political intrigue, corrupt rings, and the temptations of business; and hence may be expected to give a vote more nearly according than man's with the merits of the case in each election.

9. Voting would increase the intelligence of women, and be a powerful stimulation to female education.

10. It would enable women to protect their own industrial, social, moral, and educational rights.

Horace Greeley used to contend that seduction should be punished by death. In how many cities of this country is it punished with severity or to the extent of the law? Let women vote, even in the limited way that I am proposing; let them have a voice in the defence of their own rights, and the time will come when man will be treated

as sternly for immorality as woman is to-day. And may God hasten that hour!

Velvet life wants no vote. Dulcet drones, dear respectable people in effortless luxurious circles, petition even a Massachusetts legislature against having political responsibilities thrust upon them. The authoress of a battle hymn of the republic—she who has heard the cry of humanity for the alleviation of its terrible distresses—may well look upon these very respectable drags on the wheels of progress with scorn. An eagle does not occupy his time in catching flies.

11. Thousands of women of the best social position petition for the right of limited municipal suffrage, and only a few hundreds have petitioned against it.

12. Limited municipal suffrage for women would be an experiment by which the merits of woman's suffrage could be gradually ascertained by experience, without danger to the constitution of society, for state and national power would yet be exclusively in the hands of men; and if this experiment should not work well, it could be discontinued.

13. Excluding all illiterate votes, elections that turn on large moral issues, like license or no license, prohibition or its opposite, or on education in cities, would not be beyond the comprehension of the mass of female votes, as instructed and led by the best culture in their own class and by public discussion at large, and so would not greatly increase the danger from ignorant voters.

14. Woman's interests in the great moral issues at stake in city government are so immense that gradually all women of conscience possessing the right of suffrage would be expected to use it, and so a limited municipal suffrage would not greatly increase the evils of absenteeism at the polls.

15. For nearly half a century the cause of a limited female suffrage has been winning more and more golden opinions, not only among philanthropists and reformers, but among legislators. We have had, for instance, six grave Governors, and one Governor not very grave, in this Commonwealth, who have recommended enlarged woman suffrage. The industrial, educational, and social rights of women have been advanced immensely in the last generation, and experience has justified these changes. Who wants to go back to the position in which we were a generation since in regard to the industrial, educational, and general legal rights of women?

16. My supreme argument, however, is my last. The whisky rings and other corrupt classes, who are chiefly responsible for the misgovernment of great cities, fear nothing so much as limited municipal suffrage for women, and this terror of the enemies of civilization points out the most effective weapon that can be used against them.

You say I have forgotten three things: first, the dangers of an ignorant vote; secondly, the dangers of absenteeism at the polls; and thirdly, the dangers of voting under the dictation of priests and political rings. As these propositions show, I have forgotten none of these things. I begin by excluding the illiterate vote. I begin by excluding all women who are not willing to pay a tax for the right of suffrage. I begin by putting into the very definition of limited municipal suffrage such qualifications that the class who are most open to the misleading influences of priests and political rings are shut out. I would not vote for municipal suffrage for women in New York City at this moment without the reading test. I would not vote for it in Chicago, or St. Louis, or San Francisco, or New Orleans. So far from being a fanatic on this subject am I, that I regret exceedingly the absence of the

reading test for men in New York, and would vote at a moment's notice for the restoration of it to the place it once held in my native Commonwealth. I am in favour of compulsory voting. I want civil service reform carried in its very best shape, and applied, not only to national, but to State and municipal affairs. I am by no means of opinion that limited municipal suffrage, such as I now defend, will bring the millennium, or that it will be without great disappointments in many ways; but my feeling is very strong that we are justified by experience and by good sense, amounting to much more than a theory, in trying such an experiment as the General Court of Massachusetts and many legislatures of other States are now asked to undertake, by petitions annually increasing in number and urgency. Even States as conservative as New Hampshire and Massachusetts have already given to woman in cities an educational vote. But a temperance vote is even more clearly her right in natural justice than an educational. The cause is rising to a high tide of urgency, under the impulse of a desire for protection from both intemperance and illiteracy.

This is a cause in which the whole world is interested. I have looked on this subject from the other side of the sea, and, in speaking of it here, I have in mind Melbourne, Sydney, Calcutta, Bombay, Paris, and London, and the multitude of municipalities which are drifting into the same dangers which threaten our great cities. The right management of great towns will be an absorbing question as suffrage broadens in the twentieth century. Let America remember that on this topic her responsibilities are world-wide. In view of the growth of representative institutions on the earth—in view of the massing of men in cities—in view of the general elevation of woman's condition in Asia—in view of her enlarging industrial and educational and legal rights in Europe and America,

who dares predict that a century hence there will not be something in our immensely misgoverned cities like limited municipal suffrage for women? I believe that this reform is coming, and that it will come to stay. God grant that our fashionable society may have the wisdom to ride in the chariot, and not be dragged behind its wheels!

# LECTURE.

## IX.

## CHUNDER SEN AND THE THEISTIC SOCIETIES OF INDIA.

INDIA has originated two of the most widely spread religions of the globe—Hinduism and Buddhism. Is it now likely to originate another, Eclectic Theism, including all those portions of Christian and non-Christian faiths which agree? This is the question naturally raised by the career of the eminent Indian reformer, once leader of the theistic organization called the Brahmo Somaj, and now of that called the New Dispensation, the eloquent Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, of Calcutta. He is a lineal successor in the line of religious endeavour of Rammohun Roy, whose study of Christianity began at about the time when the great Missionary Duff was commencing his marvellous career at the mouth of the Ganges. Rammohun Roy highly reverenced the Scriptures, but did not become a Christian. He founded a Vedantic institution, to revive the ancient monotheism of India. He died in 1833. The organization he had formed grew into something which was called a Theistic Church, with a house of worship, congregation, membership, covenant, and public declaration of faith.

### ORIGIN OF THE BRAHMO SOMAJ.

The infallibility of the Vedas was formally given up, and Theism proclaimed by Rammohun Roy's successors,

about the year 1850. The Brahmo Somaj (God Society) then addressed itself to the formation of a definite national creed. This included only what is known in the theological schools of the West as natural religion. Brahmo marriages and intermarriages, although prohibited by the Hindu rules of caste, began from the year 1861. This stage of progress led to a rupture between the older and younger party of Brahmos, and the establishment of the Brahmo Somaj of India, in 1860.

Extraordinary devotional exercises became a part of the discipline of the Brahmos, under the devout leadership of Tagore, a reformer who followed Rammohun Roy as chief guide of the Theistic movement, and radical social changes were advocated. An Indian Reform Association was established in 1870; an active missionary organization was constituted; preachers began to travel from one part of the country to the other; the doctrines of love for God and communion with God (Bhakti and Yoga) began to be explained with new intensity; sacraments and ceremonies were instituted; and, at last, the New Dispensation, as the highest development of the Brahmo Somaj, was proclaimed, in 1880, under the spiritual and intellectual leadership of Keshub Chunder Sen.

### Chunder Sen's Education.

He was born November 18, 1838. He was educated at the Hindu College in Calcutta. In college, although at first fond of mathematics, he devoted himself almost exclusively to English literature and mental and moral philosophy. He passed four years in collegiate study, but is not a graduate of the final examinations of Calcutta University, which was established only two years before his quadrennial closed. He became an active member of the Brahmo Somaj in 1859. His devout character and

his eloquence at once made him a leader. He visited England, in 1870, and was received with distinguished honour, especially by the Unitarians, and was introduced to the Queen. Two volumes of his addresses in England have been published at Calcutta, and have lately been followed by a third volume, containing English lectures of his in India. Besides editing a weekly religious newspaper and directing the instruction of theological students and various religious assistants, he preaches often to his people in a tabernacle in Calcutta, and once a year delivers, in the great Town Hall there, to an immense assembly, an elaborate oration in English on some point of faith or practice connected with the religious movement he represents and which he hopes to make national in its influence.

### His Mental and Moral Characteristics.

Chunder Sen is now forty-five years old, and is by far the most interesting religious figure lately produced by the millions of Hindustan. Many regard him as nearly or quite a Christian, and others as simply a fanatic and rhapsodical dreamer, anxious to immortalize himself. Others think he is a combination of these two characters. My own opinion concerning him was made up very slowly. I obtained, when I first went to Calcutta, everything he had published, and in a very few days was honoured by interviews with some of his leading apostles, as they are called, and was invited to his house. I had long interviews with him, which I shall not describe in detail, although, perhaps, I ought to do so; yet I am so averse to unnecessary reference to my own experiences that you will excuse me if I do not enter into this matter elaborately. Suffice it to say that I must have been in Chunder Sen's company, at different times, fifteen or twenty solid hours. On invitation, I made an expedition with him and

his pupils up the River Hooghly, and he called on me at my place of residence in Calcutta; and I was prepared, with written questions in most cases, to examine his characteristic views, so that I feel, after a study of all he has published and after the very best opportunities to meet him in private, that I ought to understand what he aims at.

Let me say, once for all, that I regard it as indisputable that he is an honest man. He seems to me not only an honest, but a profoundly devout man, of extraordinary natural equipment in the intuitive religious faculties. His enemies say he is not a profound man, and some of them call him even a shallow man. Most of them affirm that he is a very politic man, and that he is ambitious to be at the head of a new religious movement. Now, I will not affirm that he is a Bacon, or a Leibnitz, or a Kant. He is a man like Mr. Emerson, powerful in the intuitive rather than in the analytical faculties. You will pardon me for this frank reference. It was Mr. Burlingame, I believe, who said that in Asia there are at least ten thousand Emersons. The characteristic type of mind in India is the intuitive, and not the philosophical. Mr. Sen speaks through his lofty moral feelings. He sees religious truths through his conscience, rather than through mere reason. All his teaching must be understood from the point of view of his idiosyncracies, or you will find yourself in a maze from the outset. He is not an Occidental; he is a thorough Oriental, and feels the touch of God within him, as the Oriental always has done at his best. He listens to the inner voice with the devoutness of one of the best of the Quaker mystics. He believes in providence. He is perpetually inculcating the duty and the blessedness of prayer and of self-surrender to all the loftiest impulses of conscience, which, as he teaches, are really supernatural touches of God upon the spirit of man.

## His Doctrine of Inspiration.

Chunder Sen holds a certain doctrine of inspiration which has often startled his British and American readers, so far as they have attended to his English utterances. He believes that, at certain moments, he is himself inspired; but, after cross-examining him again and again on this theme, I am convinced that by his inspiration he means very little more than we mean by illumination of the Holy Spirit, or certainly not more than the Quaker mystics have meant by the Inner Light and the Interior Voice. In his divinity school it is taught that what genius is in the intellectual world, inspiration is in the religious. It is an occasional Divine gift; but one that is sometimes vouchsafed even in our day. When I put to Mr. P. C. Mozumdar, one of the very ablest of Chunder Sen's coadjutors, the question: "How does Mr. Sen distinguish with certainty and precision the subjective from the objective in his religious experiences? that is, how does he make sure that any impression is not from his own faculties, but really from God himself?" the only answer was: "That is one of the secrets of religious genius." Precisely here is the weakest and most dangerous, and yet to the average Hindu mind the most fascinating part of Chunder Sen's claims and inculcations. Without pretending to offer any objective proof of the reality of his inspiration, he does teach unqualifiedly the very startling doctrine that some of the communications which come to him in his highest moments of devotion are infallible. He grants, however, that the reality of his inspiration must be tested by the accord of his teachings with those of every inspired authority in religion. It is reassuring to find that he holds, in so many words, that the spirit of the prophets must be subject to

the prophets. He regards the Christian Scriptures as incomparably the most important sacred books of the world. Familiar with all the sacred books of Asia, he and his followers find in the Bible only that which satisfies their deepest spiritual wants. All their study of comparative religions brings them back with unabated hunger and enthusiasm to the study of the Christian Scriptures.

### His Views of Deism and Unitarianism.

Chunder Sen would not trust any inspiration of his own that should seem to be opposed to fundamental Biblical truth. Nevertheless, he believes that supplementary truth may be discovered through prayer, and that it has been revealed to him that a new dispensation of the Holy Spirit is to come into the world; and that his Church, which is named the Church of the New Dispensation, is to lead this movement; and that it is to unify all the religions of the earth—Christian, Mohammedan, and Pagan, so far as they agree with the inmost voice of conscience. This is what he calls Revealed Theism, as distinguished from Rationalistic Theism, or mere cold Deism, which he abhors. He is far more than a Deist. He calls Martineau and Parker cold. He cannot tolerate Unitarianism, although it has treated him with the utmost courtesy. There was a time when it was supposed that Mr. Sen would be the leader of a reform of religion in India, and make that reform substantially Unitarianism; but I asked Mr. Sen, point blank: "What do you think of Unitarianism?" His answer was: "Its representative in Calcutta has made it ridiculous here; it is an icicle. I take pains to call myself not a Unitarian but a Unitrinitarian." What does he mean by that phrase? He holds a certain doctrine of the Trinity. I do not regard it as altogether a sound one. He delivered in the Town Hall in Calcutta,

just before I visited that city, a really remarkable address on "That Marvellous Mystery of the Trinity." Such was the title of the discourse. But when I came to look into it I found that it would not bear a theological analysis. It was not Unitarianism, however. In order to probe his conviction, I put to him this question, in presence of his theological pupils: "Do you believe in the pre-existence of Christ?" "Yes, as a Divine attribute," was the answer—which is not orthodoxy. But Mr. Sen has not had a thorough theological education. I was amazed to find that he had never read Canon Liddon's "Lectures on the Divinity of our Lord," and I gave him a copy of the book. He does not much believe in studying books of theology. He is, as I believe, unjustly charged with neglecting study; but he does not regard it as the chief means of arriving at a knowledge of religious truth. His principle is to lean but little on the intellect, but heavily on the conscience and the whole moral nature as a guide in religion. He is, however, far from being unbalanced, in the extreme sense of the mystic who believes only in the moral feelings.

### Chunder Sen as an Orator.

He has sound, rounded sense, or he could not be the orator he is. He was born an orator. He has a splendid physique, to commence with; excellent quality of organization, capacity of sudden heat and of tremendous impetuosity, and lightning-like swiftness of thought and expression, combined with a most iron self-control. You cannot throw him off his balance before any audience, with a manuscript or without one. He is unquestionably the most eloquent Asiatic I ever heard. He speaks English as perfectly as any man in this assembly; he seems to have learned it from the pages of Addison or

Macaulay, and not from colloquial usage. His English is extremely pure, and is pronounced without the slightest foreign accent. Six feet in height, with bronze complexion, and quite regular features, he is a commanding figure in his Asiatic costume, whether seen in public or in private. As you may see from his portrait, which I hold in my hand, he was born an orator; his lips, cheek, forehead, eyes, and whole form proclaim this. But he is not a philosopher, I am sorry to say; and so he does sometimes drop into rhapsody, and his moral feelings carry him away. He seems to lack balance occasionally, and so draws down upon himself severe criticism at times. At bottom, however, I think him to be one of the most devout Asiatics I have seen, and undoubtedly a man of intellectual as well as religious genius, but chiefly strong in the latter. He usually fascinates every one who comes near him, and he has a strange ascendency over his immediate followers, several of whom are men of high intellectual endowment and finished education.

### His Supreme Reliance on Prayer.

In Chunder Sen's house what happens? How does he instruct his theological students? He has a theological school, quite well patronized, and I have here on the table several of the examination papers used in it. They include many Christian books, and the questions are very keen on the topics of Providence, and prayer, and inspiration. In his own dwelling, the Lily Cottage, on Circular Road, in Calcutta (a mansion with deep verandahs on both lower and upper stories, and standing in large open grounds, among graceful and stately palms), he has what he calls a sanctuary. I must introduce you to this holy of holies of Chunder Sen's home, if you are to understand this theistic reformer of India. He

showed the room to me with a manner of intense reverence for it; and I could but feel it to be a sacred place, for here I saw revealed the very heart of natural religion, as understood by a man of high religious genius outside the pale of Christianity.

Chunder Sen meets his theological pupils and his chief religious associates in his sanctuary nearly every day, except Sunday, when he is usually engaged in preaching at his tabernacle. The room is fitted up in Asiatic style. Mr. Sen has a little platform, not more than three or four inches high, on which he is seated in the Asiatic manner. There are mats scattered about the floor for the seats of pupils and apostles. Musical instruments stand in the different corners—not elaborate instruments, but of the simple ancient Hindu patterns; sometimes one-stringed lyres, such as the *Rishis*, or Hindu saints and recluses, were accustomed to use in their meditations in the solitudes of the Himalayas. After music, Mr. Sen, seated on this platform, enters into a very long prayer. His pupils and followers devoutly believe that in the best parts of his prayer he is inspired. They note carefully not merely his language, but his intonations. When the Divine afflatus seems to come to him in his devotions, they feel that they are communing, through him, with the Holy Spirit. They actually believe this, and are correspondingly solemnized. They hold in reverence, however, not the organ, but the Divine influence that plays through it.

You might easily be misled by the manner of some of Chunder Sen's students toward him. I have been seated in his presence, when a distinguished follower of his came into the room, and immediately bowed down and kissed Chunder Sen's feet. Mr. Sen has been accused over and over again of allowing personal homage; but the kissing of the feet is a thing some missionaries have experienced.

The distinguished American missionary, Dr. Thoburn, of Calcutta, said to me that he frequently had been obliged to treat a little sternly Asiatics who had offered to kiss his feet with an appearance of personal homage. It is not in Asia understood that you regard a man as Divine because you kiss his feet, for that is one of the forms of exhibiting extreme reverence. I have seen Chunder Sen's feet kissed, and I have seen him anathematized in English papers for allowing personal homage; and, indeed, I think it is a dangerous thing for him to permit this form of salutation outside of unmixed Hindu circles, where the ceremony is understood.

### The Sanctuary in his House.

After more music, perhaps Mr. Sen offers another long prayer, or some other teacher of peculiarly devout temperament offers another, or several do this. It is believed, that when these prayers agree, all the apostles seeming to be moved in the same way, an infallible truth is revealed. They insist on that word "infallible." They affirm that inspiration is a gift of our day, and that when two or three are met together, as Christians say, or when a devout circle is formed in the Hindu fashion, and prayers are found to agree in the impulses they leave upon their devout hearts, it must be believed that God is in those impulses. There is a poet and musician of high rank usually present at these devotions. He, at the close of the prayers, filled with the spirit of the religious exercises, which continue sometimes four or five hours—and this several days in the week—comes forward, and, striking his harp, extemporizes a hymn. His rapt words are taken down by a stenographer, most carefully; the poet is allowed to correct the record; and thus have come into the possession of the Church of the New Dispensation,

so called, more than a thousand original Hindu hymns. Chunder Sen's followers believe these are in some sense inspired. They found their church upon the doctrines gathered thus out of the mountain-tops of devotion. If you go to them and say that they ought to look into Julius Müller's theology, or Canon Liddon on the Divinity of our Lord, or seek a knowledge of religious doctrine by the study of systematic intellectual presentations of religious truth, they are likely to treat you with much pity and scorn. They say: "Yes, indeed; that is what the theologians of the West do. They study, and do not pray. We depend for light on a direct gaze into God's face." "What we mean to say is, that our doctrine and principles of faith and practice are not derived by processes of reasoning; but excited in our hearts by prayer and inner experiences, so that we cannot but view them as directly dispensed unto us by the Spirit of God. For a long time the Brahmo Somaj has ceased to believe in reason as the source of religion, and professed to look up to God for the direct revelation of truth in the soul. The Brahmo Somaj has always held the faculty of faith to be the organ for the discernment of spiritual realities, and assigned in such matters a subordinate place to reason."*

"The New Dispensation is very different from what is know as Deism. It is also very different from that order of Theism which is only another name for natural religion. This may be called *rationalistic Theism*, and is legitimately assailable by philosophy. The religion of the new dispensation is *revealed Theism*—the deep spiritual religion produced in the soul by the direct contact and manifestations of the Divine Spirit, in the history of man's soul, and the life of the community called together by that Spirit."†

* *The Liberal, and the New Dispensation*, Chunder Sen's newspaper, Calcutta, May, 14, 1882. † Ibid., July 30, 1882.

SUGGESTIVE CEREMONIES IN WORSHIP.

In the religious services in the tabernacle, where Mr. Sen, when his health permits, presides, there is a most impressive ceremony, in which the whole congregation stand up and petition God for light. There is then a silence of several minutes, the whole of it occupied, presumably, in secret devotion. Every member of this Church of the New Dispensation seems to be a man of prayer. Remember that these persons do not profess to be Christians. They say little against Christianity. Except by asserting the sufficiency of his form of Theism, I could not find that Mr. Sen now ever says a word against Christianity. He is an eclectic. He wishes to absorb into his system of faith and practice all those parts of Christianity that can be made to accord with his theistic principles. In moving the vote of thanks, at the last address I had the honour to give in Calcutta, Chunder Sen said that India is ruled by Christ. On another occasion, in that massive Town Hall, holding more than 3,000 people, he said: "The crown of India does not belong to Great Britain. It belongs only to Jesus Christ our Lord." He is almost constantly uttering things that are nearly Christian in their tone, and yet at frequent intervals to utter things that lean far over toward mere Hinduism.

He has introduced into his church several ceremonies imitated from old Hindu practices. You know that there is great reverence for fire among many Oriental sects, and Mr. Sen has endeavoured to transmute one of the old ceremonies, in which the use of fire is very prominent, into an impressive theistic symbol. He brings before his worshipping audience a vessel of metal, filled with oil, and places at its side sticks of scented wood. He lights the oil and takes the wood, and, before the

whole congregation, throws it, stick by stick, into the flames, saying: "Thus perish our lust, our pride, our worldliness, our unjust anger, all our divergencies from God." The ceremony is exceedingly impressive, for at the end of it the congregation cries out, repeatedly, "Victory to God!" And then he pronounces over them, or invokes upon them, the benediction: "Peace, peace!" Several ceremonies of this sort, introduced by him, with slight changes, from the old Hindu ways, appear to be intended to conciliate Hindus. Some of his ceremonies are open to criticism. For instance, he has introduced the drama and theatrical performances, to show the progress of the sinner from a state of rebellion against God into a complete union with Him. He employs in his own house, sometimes in a room adjacent to the sanctuary, theatrical exercises, to illustrate religious truths. He has dances, which he calls sacred, imitated from old Hindu ways. The criticism which many acute missionaries make upon him is, that his composite set of ceremonies and religious doctrines has in it so many appeals to ancient Hindu prejudices that it never can lead the mass of the Hindu populations out of their attachments to hereditary misbeliefs. Chunder Sen replies that he is anxious only that Christian truth should be presented to India in an Oriental dress, and that there should be something national left in the religion of Hindustan. At times he exclaims: "Blessed Jesus, I am Thine. I give myself, body and soul, to Thee. Let India revile and persecute me, and take my life-blood out of me, drop by drop, still Thou shalt continue to have my homage." But almost in the same address he can say: "Christ's dispensation is said to be Divine. I say this dispensation, the Brahmo Somaj, is equally Divine."

### Chunder Sen's Critics.

Chunder Sen has been greatly blamed for allowing a daughter of his to be married to a wealthy Hindu prince before she had attained the age which he himself had fixed as the least that should be insisted on in the reform of child-marriages in India. The members of the less progressive part of the Brahmo Somaj, from which the Church of the New Dispensation is a secession, were especially bitter in their charges against Mr. Sen in regard to this marriage. He, and his friends, however, as well as the most intelligent British and American residents of Calcutta whom I met, assert that only a betrothal and not a marriage took place before the proper age had been reached by the parties, and that Chunder Sen's principles of reform were really not violated at all in this case.

At the centre of the whole theistic movement under Chunder Sen, however he may be praised or blamed, is the sanctuary which I have described, and himself in communion with God, and the impulse of the Holy Spirit revealed through the individual consciences of his associates in worship.

### Summary of Merits and Defects of his System of Faith and Practice.

What are the merits of the theistic movement of India, and especially of the Church of the New Dispensation, as led by Chunder Sen?

1. It unflinchingly opposes caste and idolatry.

2. It rejects utterly the hereditary misbeliefs of Hinduism as to transmigration of souls, the infallibility of the Vedas, the spiritual worth of ascetic practices, &c.

3. It is in deadly hostility to child marriages, as it was to the burning of widows, the exposure of the aged to death on the banks of the Ganges, and other familiar abuses fostered by Hinduism.

4. It supports most vigorously the causes of education, temperance, and all philanthropic reform.

5. It is utterly opposed to materialism, atheism, agnosticism, and every form of mere Deism.

6. It asserts an ethical monotheism, the fact of a supernatural Providence, and the duty and blessedness of prayer and of total self-surrender to God.

7. It adopts from Christianity whatever it can reconcile with its theistic principles, and regards the Scriptures as the most important of the sacred books in use among men.

8. It seeks, on these positions as a basis, a real and formal union of all the religious sects of every nation in the Christian, the Mohammedan, and the Pagan world.

What are the defects of the Church of the New Dispensation?

1. It teaches no effective method of delivering men from the guilt of sin.

2. It has not exhibited power to deliver men thoroughly from the love of sin. It has never yet brought men in large numbers and of ordinary education into a spiritually regenerate state. It possesses, in short, no trustworthy doctrine of the New Birth, nor of the Atonement, and so lacks religious efficacy in the points of transcendant moment. It is, hence, weak, both as a religion and as a philosophy. In practice its effects, as compared with those of Christianity, are very inconsiderable, and likely to remain so.

3. It adopts self-contradictory principles in its attempts to reconcile the various religions of the world. Its

electicism is sometimes so broad and inclusive as to become explosive.

4. It carries its doctrine of inspiration to the verge of fanaticism. Wholly without objective proof of this inspiration, the Church of the New Dispensation claims to have received through its leader an infallible revelation for our day. This claim is as mischievous as it is untenable, and, if pushed, is likely to ruin the reputation of the movement with serious and well-educated men, not only in the West, but also in India itself.

### The Insufficiency of Mere Theism.

Theism, in its devoutest and most scholarly form, is, simply a torso, of which Christianity is the necessary completion. A scientific doctrine of conscience or a profoundly spiritual life points to the necessity of man's deliverance not merely from the love of sin, but also from the guilt of it. Theism alone, however, without aid from Christianity, has never been able to effect for man this double deliverance. Only Christianity, with its fathomless truths concerning the necessity of the New Birth and of the Atonement, can do this. To set up Theism, even its best form, as a rival to Christianity, is to prefer the torso to the whole figure, or the vestibule to the temple,

### The Theosophists of Bombay and Madras.

As we separate from this study of a movement, which has perhaps 200 or 300 small societies to represent it, and scattered over both North and South India, let us notice the opponents and rivals it has had. They are chiefly of late the Theosophists of Bombay. Their creed is a singular compound of Hindu occult science with Occidental forms of spiritism, materialism, and atheism. It

is vehemently anti-Christian at every point. They are led by two American adventurers—Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky. When I was in Bombay there came to that city an American infidel, only recently imprisoned at Albany for infamous crime. He was the editor of perhaps the foremost infidel newspaper rag of this continent—a sheet which I hope very few of you ever see, and which deserves to be handled only with the tongs. This man was on trial a few years ago for distributing infamous literature through the mails, and, under our righteous American enactments concerning the subject, was sent to the Albany penitentiary for several months. I saw him on his trial in the Court-room in the Post-office building in New York City; and when he came to Bombay he at once attacked your humble lecturer, asserting that I had been one of his foremost persecutors. He was received with open arms by the Theosophists, put on their platforms, and furnished with the very best opportunities to attack Christianity in all its aspects. These Theosophists were boasting that they had drawn hundreds of pupils out of the missionary schools. All their documents show that one of their foremost objects is to injure the progress of Christian missions. As the public of India was not acquainted with American vulgar infidelity, I thought it my duty to expose the career of this jail-bird, and I did so; whereupon, of course, he and his friends came down upon me in great wrath. They sent to this country a number of lying telegraphic despatches, by which I see the *Commonwealth* of this city, and several other papers, have been misled; it was said, I believe, that I was driven out of Bombay—all of which is utter falsehood. The man came to one of my last lectures, carrying under his coat a horsewhip, which he did not use. He obtained almost no hearing in Bombay. I was assured that he drew several hundred pupils out of missionary schools in

Ceylon. For several days he was on the same ship with me; but he had a position in the front of the vessel and our paths never crossed. I have heard of his smiting his hand upon the table with a rage that almost caused the plates to drop upon the floor, when some one asserted that Providence would watch over the ship in a storm, and expressed the hope that God would bring us safely to port. "Why, do you believe in a personal God?" he would exclaim. "That superstition ought to be driven out of the head of every sensible man." He was everywhere in a rage when any man expressed any faith in God or in Christianity. This man obtained little hearing in Japan, if any. I heard of his great disappointments in San Francisco; but nevertless, in every city where he went he was received with open arms by small coteries of atheistic or spiritistic circles, and by those uneasy classes represented by Bradlaughism in Great Britain and Ingersollism in this country—classes like crooked sticks, so far from straight that they cannot lie still. I found these people in various parts of the world reading almost the same literature, and feeding themselves with the same atrociously unfair intellectual discussions. Bishop Huntingdon has said, lately, "We need not greatly fear any sceptical movement that we cannot intellectually respect." For that reason, I do not feel that vulgar infidelity deserves large discussion before such an assembly as this. Nevertheless, around the whole world I found this one man received as a hero; and when he challenged me to debate, all I could say was, that of course I would not suffer the platform which honourable gentlemen had given to me to be soiled by the unrepentant tracks of infidel jail-birds. It is no sign of discretion in a defender of Christianity to rush into debate, of which the object is to advertise vulgar infidelity. Everywhere I decline to

do it, and, thereupon, most misleading despatches were sent home concerning my position. This man, editor of the *Truth Seeker*, in New York, had not been in Bombay a week before the leading newspaper there had to call attention to the circulation of printed documents, promising that infamous literature would be sold to the young if they would call at a certain street and number. The appearance of advertisements of this atrocious moral poison at the same time with the appearance of this propagandist of infidelity was an occurrence of great significance. The *Times* (of India) copied one of *Scribner's* articles about the man. When he left prison, *Scribner* published an account of him, and the title of the article was, "The Apotheosis of Dirt." India thus came to understand the Theosophists, for they knew what the career of this infidel editor had been, and yet locked hands with him in ostentatious public attacks on Christianity.

What I have said all this for is, that I may add that around the whole world men are measured by their heroes. The last news from the American leaders of the Theosophists of India is, that they have emigrated from Bombay, and have been unable to obtain any pleasant footing in Calcutta, and so have gone to Madras, which all through India is called the benighted Presidency.

Chunder Sen is a most vigorous opponent of Theosophy and Spiritism, as well as of Agnosticism and Materialism, although he has a brother who is reputed to be a Spiritualist. Mr. Sen is the editor of a really able English paper, called *The Liberal*, and in it he has frequent passages of his own, which for devotional depth are not often surpassed by our best religious literature.

## Bhakti and Yoga.

Conversing once with Chunder Sen, I happened to use the rather strange English words, *theoscopy* and *theopathy*, as I was emphasizing the scientific fact that *natural laws are only the habits of God*, and so ought to give us a constant sense of his omnipresence. Whatever gives a vision of God prompts to total, affectionate, irreversible self-surrender to him. That surrender itself, more than any other natural cause known to man, gives a new and *inner* sense of the Divine Presence, and so *theoscopy, or the seeing of God, leads to theopathy, or similarity of feeling with God.* He grasped my hand with a sudden, impulsive gesture, and said that these two words expressed ideas which lie at the very centre of his own system of religious faith and practice, and were infinitely dearer to him than life itself. They are by no means the whole of Christianity, however, but only one of the glorious vestibules to it. In order to show how grand a temple this flaming Hindu soul can make of a mere vestibule, I quote the whole of one of his familiar sermons to his people as given in his own translation from Bengali.* Bhakti and Yoga, which this sermon discusses, may, perhaps, be translated as an Intense Love for God and Communion with God. The impassioned style of this address reveals the genuineness of the spiritual emotions which prompted it, and unveils the most characteristic and valuable part of the religious discipline of the Church of the New Dispensation.

* *The Liberal*, Oct. 8, 1882.

## PERSONAL EXPERIENCES.

### YOGA, OR COMMUNION WITH GOD.

[*Translated from Bengali.*]

(Sermon, Sunday, September 24, 1882.)

Like my Bhakti, my Yoga is also an acquired virtue. I was not a Yogee when I began my religious life. I did not know what Yoga was, had never heard its name, and I never thought that I should have to walk in this path at any time. My only aspiration was to become thoroughly pure, to reform my character, and to submit completely to the will of God. This was my sole religion, and I never thought that there was anything like Yoga that should form a part of it. Thus did I pass the first fifteen years of my religious life, when, by the grace of God, my heart began to be filled with Bhakti. This Bhakti grew to madness in course of time, and I felt, at last, that it was essentially necessary for me to cultivate Yoga to make my Bhakti lasting. The madness of love seemed to be very transitory, and it appeared to me that nothing but Yoga could keep the fire burning in me. I felt that, as I believed in God, I should be one with Him; as my heart swelled with His love, my eyes should behold him constantly. But Yoga was quite unknown in the Brahmo Somaj at that time. Thousands of people were drawn towards Bhakti; its influence was felt throughout the whole community; but people were very slow to appreciate the merits of Yoga. The fire of Bhakti easily spreads itself, and catches the hearts of many; but Yoga attracts very few toward it, as it is very difficult to understand and hard to cultivate. In hundreds of years you will find but a handful of men devoted to its cultivation. Therefore, though I became a staunch votary of Yoga, my friends did not follow it. I understood that life was not worth having if I were not one with my Divine Father. No precepts or scriptures taught me this truth; I did not read of Yoga in any book. As the grace of God descended in my heart in the shape of Bhakti, so did the wind of Yoga blow into my soul, and I knew not whence it came. From two sides did these two things descend upon me as blessings of Heaven. Bhakti sweetened my Yoga, and Yoga sanctified my Bhakti. They were twin brother and sister. Yoga without Bhakti ends in pantheism, and Bhakti without Yoga terminates in superstition. But in my life the rocks of Yoga are adorned with the beautiful gardens of Bhakti. When I open my eyes, I behold the God of Yoga with one eye, and the God

of Bhakti with the other. I see God in everything—in fruit and tree, in sun and moon, in air and light, and in fire and water. He is to me true, and at the same time beautiful. Where I saw earth and clay before, there I see my God now. I did not practice any austerities to attain this God-Vision. I opened my eyes, and saw my Father everywhere and in everything. This is true Yoga. Whenever I look around me, I see the burning presence of my God—His infinite force filling every created being, his wisdom manifest in the whole universe, and his heavenly love embracing all creatures. This vision was not the result of much reading or learning, but it was a gift of heaven. I did not realize this in the beginning of my religious life; but now the fire of Divine Presence burns in and around me with infinite force, and, like a strong wind, His Presence touches my whole frame. My Yoga began to be deeper and deeper day by day, and now I am immerged into it day and night. I am not without Him even for a moment, and I cannot imagine how at one time I was a stranger to this state. You may doubt my existence; but you cannot doubt, in the least, the existence of God, who dwells in me. He is one with me. I need not offer you proofs of His existence. If you see me, you will see Him also. You cannot deny the one and accept the other. God will be manifest to you as a thing—a person. I do not believe in the God of books. I believe in Him only whom I see with my own eyes. Brethren, do not believe in the God of imagination; be a Yogo and a Bhakti, and all your wants willbe removed. Where I have seen Him, you will see Him also. Despair not.

Very naturally, Chunder Sen quotes all the mystics. His object is to bring together all the devout hearts of the world. I part from this theme by reading, as a contrast to the sermon I have cited, his last and really worst production, and yet it shows to what the man is tending:—

CHUNDER SEN'S PROCLAMATION OF THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL.

## THE NEW DISPENSATION-EXTRAORDINARY.

*New Year's Day, January* 1, 1883.

Keshub Chunder Sen, a servant of God, called to be an apostle of the Church of the New Dispensation, which is in the holy city of Calcutta, the metropolis of Aryavarta,

To all the great nations in the world, and to the chief religious sects in the East and West,

To the followers of Moses, of Jesus, of Buddha, of Confucius, of Zoroaster, of Mohammed, of Nanac, and to the various branches of the Hindu Church,

To the saints and the sages, the bishops and the elders, the ministers and the missionaries of all these religious bodies :

Grace be unto you and peace everlasting.

Whereas, sectarian discord and strife, schisms and enmities prevail in our Father's family, causing much bitterness and unhappiness, impurity and unrighteousness, and even war, carnage, and bloodshed :

Whereas, this setting of brother against brother, and sister against sister, in the name of religion, has proved a fruitful source of evils, and is of itself a sin against God and man :

It has pleased the holy God to send unto the world a message of peace and love, of harmony and reconciliation.

This New Dispensation hath He, in boundless mercy, vouchsafed to us in the East, and we have been commanded to bear witness unto it among the nations of the earth.

Thus saith the Lord : Sectarianism is an abomination unto me, and unbrotherliness I will not tolerate.

I desire love and unity, and my children shall be of one heart, even as I am one.

At sundry times have I spoken through my prophets, and, though many and various my dispensations; there is unity in them.

But the followers of these my prophets have quarrelled and fought, and they hate and exclude each other.

The unity of Heaven's messages have they denied, and the science that binds and harmonizes them their eyes see not and their hearts ignore.

Hear, ye men. There is one music, but many instruments; one body, but many limbs ; one spirit, but diverse gifts ; one blood, yet many nations ; one church, yet many churches.

Blessed are the peacemakers, who reconcile differences, and establish peace, good-will, and brotherhood in the name of the Father.

These words hath the Lord our God spoken unto us, and His new Gospel He hath revealed unto us, a gospel of exceeding joy.

The Church Universal hath He already planted in this land,

and therein are all prophets and all scriptures harmonized in beautiful synthesis.

And these blessed things the loving Father hath charged me and my brother apostles to declare unto all the nations of the world, that, being of one blood, they may also be of one faith, and rejoice in one Lord.

Thus shall all discord be over, saith the Lord, and peace shall reign on earth.

Humbly, therefore, I exhort you, brethren, to accept this new message of universal love.

Hate not, but love ye one another; and be ye one in spirit and in truth, even as the Father is one.

All errors and impurities ye shall eschew, in whatever church or nation they may be found; but ye shall hate no scripture, no prophet, no church.

Renounce all manner of superstition and error, infidelity and scepticism, vice and sensuality, and be ye pure and perfect.

Every saint, every prophet, and every martyr ye shall honour and love as a man of God.

Gather ye the wisdom of the East and the West; and accept and assimilate the examples of the saints of all ages.

So that the most fervent devotion, the deepest communion, the most self-denying asceticism, the warmest philanthropy, the strictest justice and veracity, and the highest purity of the best men in the world may be yours.

Above all, love one another, and merge all differences in universal brotherhood.

Beloved brethren, accept our love and give us yours, and let the East and West with one heart celebrate the jubilee of the New Dispensation.

Let Asia, Europe, Africa, and America, with diverse instruments, praise the New Dispensation, and sing the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

There are Christians, there are friends of merely natural religion, there are theists in the Occident, who look upon Chunder Sen as a man who is bringing in the religion of the future for the whole world, through the gate of Asia. Compared with Evangelical Christianity in India, the movement which Chunder Sen leads is a bubble. It has a certain power; but as Christianity begins to obtain

hold of the better educated classes, that movement will wane in influence. I believe that Chunder Sen deserves the prayers of all good men, and that he may yet be led into a more profound knowledge of Christianity. My objection to his method is not that he prays too much; but that he studies too little. I should not be surprised if, in his advanced years, he should retire to the Himalayas, and there, as a devotee, through a life of comparative solitude and austerity and the profound inspirations of secret prayer, endeavour to make himself a prophet for the ages. It is in the man to do this. He is not a fanatic. A man more remarkable for religious than for intellectual genius, thoroughly honest, he is led by his moral feeling, rather than by this and the judgment combined. He will at any cost try to push his effort for the unification of the religions of all the race. America and Europe will hear more of that movement. Keep your eyes upon it, and offer, at the same time, devout prayers that Chunder Sen and all his followers may be led into the Himalayan heights of Sinai, and there see the need of an Atonement and of the New Birth to deliver men from the love of sin and from the guilt of it.

# THE PRELUDE.

## Religion in Colleges, at Home and Abroad.

Benjamin Franklin, whom Thomas Carlyle called the father of all shrewd Americans, and of whom the French love to say that he wrenched the sceptre from tyrants and the lightning from heaven, had during his whole life a most searching habit of self-examination in moral things. Even while he was an ambassador at Paris he carried with him a little book, ruled in thirteen columns in one direction and in seven in the other, and containing the names of about a dozen virtues in which it was his purpose to make himself, if possible, perfect. He was accustomed at the close of every day, even in the busiest parts of his mercilessly crowded life, to examine his actions and motives, and place against himself marks, black or white, according to the judgment of the innermost moral sense. One of his great maxims was: "Endeavour to keep alive in your soul that little spark of celestial fire called conscience." Very possibly a man of no more historic dignity than Benjamin Franklin, a person who accomplished so little in the world as he, may be much beneath the attention of freshmen and sophomores in our universities; but in Boston, with his statue in living and breathing bronze looking down upon us, with the history of his marvellous boyhood enchanting us, as we look back into the colonial era of Massachusetts and Pennyslvania, it is very natural, under the shadow of Harvard University, that a man should wish to have even freshmen and sophomores keep

alive the celestial spark called conscience. Keep that spark alive, in spite of extinguishers in the infamous spots of this municipality; keep it alive in spite of extinguishers in false faiths and crude philosophies and merely semi-Christian convictions as to religious things; keep it alive in spite of all that can be found in class pride and undergraduate giddiness to trample out the fire of devoutness in a young man's soul.

It is said that three bad men give a tone to a regiment. Six bad men will give a tone to almost any college class. With such great classes as our universities of the first rank now have, it is very uncommon not to find that number of bad men in a class. Under the subtle operation of precedents in college life they may give a lasting taint to many a society organized in their university. A class, a college full of undergraduates is a world in itself; but its members are not selected to match each other in moral matters. A young man who goes into college cringing and ducking, and acts like a poltroon in his first few weeks, in presence of these rough-shod moral misleaders, is very likely to be trampled on through his whole four years. A young man who allows himself to be ridden over by the moral roughs of a college for four years, is likely to be ridden over by the moral roughs of professional life, and most especially by those of politics and commerce. He is not likely to have courage to stand erect against the huge vices of time. It is therefore of the utmost consequence that a young man entering college should be taught, in the first place, manliness. I have great sympathy with a sentiment I once heard uttered by a distinguished college professor, that if a young man is ruined in college, it is at least possible that he is not worth saving. Speaking from the point of view of affairs on this side the grave, this is not too stern a censure. If a young man, after such training as now usually precedes a college course, can-

not stand up in college against the ordinary moral temptations of the place, against the sneers of a few dissipated class-mates, against the persecution that may be organized against him in his earlier years, because of his moral attitude, then I say that such a young man is probably not worth saving for the great purpose of a courageous public life. We must look upon such men as, in most cases, weaklings and poltroons, and try to create a soul under the ribs of their death by pointing out their cowardice. Some men, I know, are naturally shy and others brave; but to each temperament, Providence assigns special weapons of self-protection. The sharp-horned elk in the wilds of Africa has been known to be sometimes a fatal antagonist of a lion. A Dean Stanley, in his preparatory school, used to kneel down at his bedside in the midst of jeers from all quarters of the great apartment, and sometimes under missiles hurled at him from this corner or that, and offer his prayers as he did aforetime on his father's hearth. A shyer boy, perhaps, never went into a rough public school; but in after-life this man exhibited the same bravery to the very end that he manifested as a mere youth. His character in his public career, like that of many another scholar, was formed, in part, by the experience he had of standing up with vigour in defence of his moral ideals when he was in the preparatory school and in college.

In class pride and in the mechanical arrangements of students in colleges there is a subtle temptation to make complaisance the rule, even in presence of vice. Young men are arranged alphabetically on the seats of the university class-rooms, and, perhaps, a man of high moral principle sits side by side with a moral leper. Here is a person who is not a fruit of the Tree of Life so much as a husk and a pod, with the sap of youth already drawn out of him by his vices. He is cinder already, and you may

sit beside him for four years. Still, of course, you must be courteous. A hero must be a gentleman; but a gentle*man* may also be a *gentle*man, and the full height of culture is obtained only by emphasizing both parts of this word. You must do what decency requires; but you need not invite that man to your room, you need not form any social affiliations with him. You may treat him with courteous good humour here and there, possibly you may have an opportunity to say a serious word to him more than once before your quadrennial shall end. Marvellous opportunity this is for you to rescue a brand from the burning. Unpopular language this is in universities, you say. I have seen too many college brands burned to thin ashes not to be willing to use this language with entire frankness face to face with the haughtiest university on earth. I am some years out of the university, and I tell young men who are now in college that ten years after they are out of it, if they call the roll of dissipated men that they knew in their quadrennial, they will usually find seven out of ten of them approaching early graves. I do not know one man who had the reputation of a dissipated person in my college course that now has a position of any honour in a profession. I do not know one who has the promise of such position who in his college life was among the wild persons in the class.

Ten years of self-support show of what substance young men in college were really made. It is possible that a wealthy man's son in college may be dissipated, and yet live a smooth outer life; but let him, after he is out of college, be forced to take care of himself; let him begin to work in some serious business, let him enter an exacting profession, and very soon his fibre shows that it has not much firmness, and is disintoned, if not melted, by his vices; his will is weak, even if his body has not been severely injured; and the result in most cases is that he

stumbles in his first efforts, and, stumbling there, he stumbles more or less in his second, and competition passes him by. In the rough contest of professional life he is very soon under foot and forgotten. I am not unmindful of the fact that some dissipated men have been saved by an exacting profession, and some by a happy marriage, which no dissipated man deserves; but these are exceptional cases. You must not look forward to any such issue of your dallying with vice. It is indeed possible that as you grow older you will see that the apples of Sodom are full of dust and ashes, that they are not food for rational souls, and mere ambition may lift you into something like honour, if not religious principle. It is possible that love may take up the harp of your life, and

> Smite on all the chords with might,
> Smite the chord of self, which, trembling,
> May in music pass from sight.

Tennyson says this is what happens with that central strand of the worst part of our nature, selfishness. Perhaps this is what will happen also with sensuality, and with indolence, and with all those loathsome habits which you have hugged to your bosom in your dissipated college course. But the probability is that these vipers will continue to feed on your heart's core till you pass into your grave. Shake off from the very first, therefore, I say to the young men of honour in college, all company that is not respectable. Daniel Webster read through the life of Lord Byron, and said that there was not a single trait in Byron's earlier character that he could respect, and that therefore he cared for no close association with the soul of Byron, simply because he was not respectable. He admired his genius, but remembered that in the long course, under the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest, he comes nearest to success who is nearest to God.

All this, you say, is appealing to selfish considerations.

Yes; but I have been speaking to freshmen and sophomores, I will rise now to the higher classes, and say a word from a loftier outlook. When a man becomes a junior or senior he begins to think very seriously of what profession he will enter.

By what methods may a man secure the right moral management of his life in college?

1. Settlement of a plan for success in this world and the next.

2. Anticipation of the demands of your own intellectual and spiritual growth.

The next world is not visible from some of the heights of youth; but I hope most young men have moments in which there are glimpses of the terminal range of life, and in which they think of the ocean behind the Andes to which they must go down when they cross the summit of death. What I want young men to do is to cultivate assiduously the wisdom these moments give them. Take your loftiest moods and make them the guiding constellations of your lives. One mischief among young men is that they do not anticipate their own growth. Have not you outgrown he love of rocking-horses and kites and candies, and are you not likely to outgrow many of your present tastes? Remember what you will be when, at forty years of age, or thirty-five, or thirty, you are in the midst of a crowded professional life. Remember what you will want when you have a fireside of your own.

3. Anticipation of marriage.

Take into view the fact that he who dips himself in the seas of ink ceases to be marriageable. A most delicate theme, you say, to mention to university students. Would God that it were mentioned somewhere every week in the ears of young men in colleges. Would God that the future fire of the hearthstone could lie as a living coal on every tempted heart in our circles of young men in uni-

versity towns. When I left Phillips Academy, a great professor in Andover Theological Seminary said, in a farewell address to my class—and the remark was full of an orthodoxy which I hope will be found at Andover for centuries to come, in all its old earnestness and fire—"In view of the temptations of a college life, it would be well for every young man to have laid on his heart a living red-hot coal of God Almighty's wrath." That sentence burned me through. Here and now, I will not say anything quite as startling, but I say: Put upon the heart of young men large gatherings of coals out of their anticipated future family fires. Take the burning incense off the marriage altar, and put it, while you are in college, on your heart, and through the ascending clouds of that holy oblation vice will reveal itself to you as the unspeakably odious thing it is.

4. High intellectual aims, unflinchingly pursued in face of every discouragement.

If a young man is tempted in college, let him aim to be first in his class, and very soon temptation will lose its attractiveness. My conviction is that most young men underrate the extent of self-improvement they are capable of achieving, under the permanent pressure of high aims or the necessity of a profession.

5. Association of the intimate kind only with respectable fellow-students, no matter how long the period of college acquaintanceship nor what class-sentiment may say.

6. Devout cultivation of all the affections, sanctities, honours, and blisses of home-life.

In 1830 there were only 4,021 college students in the United States; now there are 62,435. It is exceedingly significant that for fifty years the number of our college students has increased more than twice as fast as that of the population.* What aspiration this one fact reveals in

* See "American Almanac for 1883," p. 47.

the American masses; what heroic self-help on the part of many young men; what generous assistance from parents of large incomes; what pathetic self-denial in the case of many a father and mother of limited or narrow means, but resolved to lift their son to an opportunity better than their own! Webster invoked once a curse upon himself if he ever forgot what his father did for his education. Carlyle felt through his whole life that he was standing on his father's shoulders. Yet men who are not self-made remember who made them. Accursed is everything that brings a cloud, or even a hate, between a young man and father and mother, brother or sister. Yet students saturate their individual secret college lives with home life, and home life with college life.

7. Intellectual and moral nearness to the greatest and best men, and persistent aloofness from the weakest and worst, in college faculties.

It, perhaps, ill becomes me to speak of the living among our revered college instructors; but I cannot resist the temptation to mention three or four men who stand as watch-towers on the stormy coasts of university careers —Mark Hopkins, President Woolsey, James McCosh, Thomas Arnold. Time fails me to glance into the careers of these men, nor need I do so, as they are lights on hills. I might mention many others; but I happen to know that at least 1,200 students have been graduated from Princeton College since President McCosh became the head of the institution, and that only six or eight of them have gone into the world believing nothing. President McCosh is a philosopher of most eminent rank, abreast of modern science, and almost monthly publishing something that leads thought in the most learned circles, here and abroad. What does he do? In spite of his learning, in spite of the dignity of his office, in spite of the majesty of his character—or rather, on account of it

—he is accustomed to take young men to his study for personal conversation on religion and for prayer. Very few sceptical and dissipated young men leave Princeton without knowing what the President's private intercourse is, and its relations to these high matters. I have read a statement of President McCosh concerning four young men who were particularly given to scepticism, and who refused, even under these influences, to be brought into anything like what he would call a reasonable mood. He is not a sectarian. If he thought he had a drop of sectarian blood in his veins, President McCosh would be glad to open them and let it out. But he believes in clear ideas; he believes in spiritual purposes; he believes in conscience; he believes in natural religion and in revealed; and he allows his light to shine to the thirty-two points of the compass. Sixteen years minister with a colleague in a Scottish church of 1,400 communicants, sixteen years professor of philosophy at Belfast University, now nearly sixteen years President of Princeton College—this citizen of two hemispheres has to-day a voluntary class of some 300 students in philosophy, and at the same time is one of the highest authorities in the world of advanced theological thought. These four young men, although they left college nearly or quite agnostic, atheistic, or infidel in their general positions, all became Christian believers within ten years, and three of them preachers. May Almighty God multiply in our colleges men like Thomas Arnold, and Mark Hopkins, and President Woolsey, and James McCosh, and a starry list of others whom your reverent thoughts will call to mind!

With emotions fitly expressed only by a famous poem of Matthew Arnold's, I stood once a long while alone in the stately chapel of Rugby, at the side of the marble slab in the floor covering the spot where Thomas Arnold lies at rest until the heavens be no more. A ray of the

westering English sun fell upon it in benediction; but seemed to come from the American heavens—so dear is this man's memory to hundreds here who never saw his face. I know not what may be the horror of a man who feels that he has ruined the physical life of another or poisoned the body; but what ought to be the unspeakable horror of any college professor or president who by his sneers at Christianity poisons a soul? A man who exerts a bad influence from a college chair, becomes a block over which young men by scores, and possibly by hundreds, may stumble into moral disaster or a crippled state of soul, which will prevent stalwartness in their public lives when they are called on to perform the highest duties. Would God that icebergs in college chairs, sitting there in stately unconcern, could read Tennyson's poem on the temple of culture, and the "Palace of Art," with due appreciation. After three years of this isolated pride, Tennyson's soul, according to this poem, fell down in despair, called on God to teach it to pray and to show it the means of deliverance from guilt. These acts are the loftiest pinacles of culture. Would God that we could have in the churches at large, such a vernal season as to melt all the masses of ice in the frozen altitude of culture, and transform them into bursting perennial crystalline springs, and living leaping rills on the mountain-sides of our universities, flowing down into the lower slopes of education, and fertilizing the great valleys with an inundation without ebb, until they pass into the ocean of eternity. That is what we want of college professors. Let them be rivers, and not glaciers, even if they are on the stately summits of Harvard.

Let me defend here the good name of my Alma Mater, for there is not a paving-stone nor an elm tree in the grounds of Harvard University, in Cambridge yonder, that is not a treasure to me. Her religious state is vastly

better than it was a generation ago; immensely better than it was at the opening of the century. Thirty years ago only nine per cent. of the students of Havard were professed Christians; to-day the proportion is thirty-two per cent.* There are little swirls of reaction now and then in the Harvard College life; but she must not be judged by these, but by her averages of influence. Not that I regard a student there at any time as in a hot-house, intended to cause the growth of evangelical piety. A man, who goes through Harvard and stands erect, is likely to be able to stand erect afterward. Harvard is either the best or the worst place among our colleges in which to grow Christians, just as the open field is the best or worst place in which to grow a stalwart oak. If the oak yields, it snaps and lies prostrate; but if it stands erect, if it throws out victorious branches to all the buffeting tempests, then, on account of the buffeting, it grows the stronger, and at the last becomes rounded and mighty toward the four quarters of the heavens. Its strength has been robbed from the very winds that have assailed it by day and by night. Let a young man thus stand erect in college, and the more stern the conditions of his temptation the stronger he is likely to be at the last.

8. Establishment of the chief points of religious belief.

You cannot study the whole system of theology before you are graduated. But set apart some portion of your time, I do not care if it is half the leisure of every Sunday, for the study of the points on which you are most in doubt, and as to which you most feel your need of confirmation of conviction. Let several hours a week be used for special spiritual education, such as you need. Every man's case differs from the case of every other man

* The Rev. C. F. Thwing, in *Christian Union*, March 1, 1883. See also his excellent volume on "American Colleges," pp. 55–68.

in many points. Let every young man go to his best adviser, this college professor or that; and if any college professor, hearing his account of his spiritual temptations, turns upon him and asks simply, with a pagan stare, "What have you been eating? Is not something the matter with your stomach?" turn from that man, shake off the very dust of your feet against him, and remember that the days of paganism have passed with men of clear ideas. It is atrocious to find college professors giving stones, when they are asked to give bread. You will find professors to meet your need, if you search for them. There ought to be a pastor in every university—some man of eminent native endowments, of unsullied splendour of character, of unstinted largeness of intellectual acquisitions, of burning spiritual zeal, and broad balanced love of progress. Let such a person stand before young men, and he will draw them as the magnet draws the needle. It cannot but be that he will produce in them the image of God, if only he is himself rightly intoxicated with God. Of what are our trustees dreaming, that they leave many colleges and schools, which are the most important parishes of New England, almost wholly without pastors of adequate equipment?

9. Let young men seek balance of culture. Here is the human face. If I were to develop one feature in the countenance at the expense of another, I should be doing very much what is done in many college courses. It is the balance of features that makes the expression of the human face. The operation of an exclusively secular college course is to enlarge the eyes and lips, and sometimes the chin, and leave the other features unchanged. This is the style of human being that is apt to be produced by a merely scientific and classical, and not distinctively religious university—a truncated, topless moral cone—the loftiest thing in him not yet developed.

Let young men remember that it is symmetry of development that secures strength. There is nothing much worse in the educational hazards of our time than a tendency to drill men out of all symmetry, into mere specialists. A man is all eye and ear, and has no lips; or all mouth, and has no regality of forehead; or in some case of an eccentric infidel, he has chin and lip, and not much else. This effort of our time to make men specialists is a glorious and necessary one, indeed; but it has its dangers. The fragmentariness and narrowness of the culture of our average specialists are not enough emphasized. I hold that any college that does not seek to give its students moral training, in some such sense as to lift them up to the really highest ideals of religious culture, is a one-sided affair, and should be criticized in the name of culture. Rawness of thought in ethical and religious matters characterizes the graduates of secular govermental universities in India and Japan to such a degree that the crudest speculations of the agnostic and materialistic school are often received as the maturest wisdom of the Occident. The native reformers of Asia, under the lead of Chunder Sen, are protesting with not a little success against the complete secularization of the courses of university studies in India.

10. Scipio Africanus should give even pagan students something of his wisdom. He never began any public enterprise of importance without first going to the Capitol, and, sitting some time alone, receiving, as he thought, communications from the gods.

This pagan, one of the very noblest of the Romans, conqueror of Hannibal, his daughter the mother of the Gracchi. I keep a marble antique bust of Scipio Africanus in my parlour, and every day it is an inspiration to me—the scar on the forehead, the massiveness of the head, the

uprightness of the look, the wary, searching, terrible Roman courage of the man! Nothing apologetic or craven about him, nothing unbalanced; really a person who, as I believe, would have been a Christian, and even a devout student of its innermost mysteries, if Christianity had been presented to him. Mr. Emerson objected strenuously to the abolition of devotional public exercises in colleges. Hegel called prayer the highest act of the human spirit. Secret prayer, morning devotions, an hour with God every day, the putting of the human hand into the hands of the Almighty, as both Saviour and Lord—these are the sure means to success in this life and in the next. Let us put the hands of young men in American colleges, in English and German, in Indian, in Chinese, in Japanese, and Australian, into the palms that were pierced; let us unhesitatingly give the leadership of education in the world to Christ our Lord, and so bring the whole earth into his bosom.

# LECTURE.

## X.

## WOMAN'S WORK FOR WOMAN IN ASIA.

WHEN in the Southern Pacific Ocean I was pacing the deck of my ship, and looking towards the Fiji Islands, I was told, on indisputable authority, that in this paradise of the great deep young girls were once fattened and sold in the public market as stall-fed cattle, for food. We are informed by entirely trustworthy African travellers, that sometimes, when a king of the tropical regions of the Dark Continent dies, a river is turned out of its course by artificial means; a deep and broad excavation dug in its dry channel; a score or more of the king's male servants beheaded at the edge of this pit, and another score of human beings, called his wives, put into the pit alive; a platform of wood constructed above them; other wives placed on the platform alive, and clasping his limbs from the four corners of the support on which he lies as a corpse—and then the earth is shovelled into the pit upon all this mass of humanity, and the river is brought back to its course. In India I have seen worse things than these. You think I am declaiming; but the exact statistical fact is, that between Cashmere and Ceylon, according to an authentic and most recent official statement, which I hold in my hand, there are 21,000,000 of widows, and half of these were never wives. Even under the rule of a Christian empress, paganism makes the condition of India yet so desolate

that it is a common remark among the Hindus that the old form of immolation by fire was preferable as a fate for a young woman, or even for an old one, than widowhood. Distressing beyond our conception must be a life compared with which suttee is a blessing; and yet suicides are occurring in India almost every week, prompted only by the terrible sufferings incidental to enforced widowhood.

### Child Marriages in India.

The mischief begins with child marriages. On the great theme of Woman's Work for Woman in Asia, notice, first, the evils in her condition, and next, the remedies for them. First among these monstrous mischiefs I mention child marriages and desolate enforced widowhood for life. How early may a Hindu girl be married? At eight years; perhaps earlier. She may be betrothed, possibly, when she is in her cradle. Her intended husband is often an aged Brahmin, who soon dies. But the Hindu rule is, that if the person to whom the girl is betrothed, and whom, it may be, she has never seen, dies, the girl must remain a widow for life. The theory is, that it is honourable in a woman to do all she can for the preservation of the health and the advancement of the temporal and spiritual prosperity of her husband. If evil befalls him, a suspicion falls upon her; if he dies, the extreme Hindu teaching is that it is right to treat her with disrespect, and that all the honour you give the husband should rebound into dishonour shown to his widow. The multitude of widows who never were wives shows how many persons betrothed have been separated by death before marriage occurred.

### Enforced Widowhood.

It would require weeks for me to picture in detail the

desolation of enforced widowhood among orthodox Hindus. In the first place, the widow must "eat her jewels." She must take off her ornaments and sell them, to maintain herself. At least, this is expected of her in the more bigoted populations. I do not affirm by any means that these rules of pagan orthodoxy are always carried out to-day with the higher classes of Hindus; but with 250,000,000 of people in Hindustan, there are, excluding Mohammedans, probably 150,000,000 among whom the rules are very thoroughly followed. When the widow has "eaten her jewels," she may be supported by the family to which she belongs; but not before. Even when the time comes in which she may legally be supported, she is expected to practise very frequent fasts. The rule is that she shall take but one meal a day. Whether ill or well when her fast-day occurs, she must abstain wholly from food for twenty-four hours. She shaves her head. A Hindu woman is naturally proud of the glorious ornament of her black tresses, and when she loses them and all her ornaments she is degraded in social standing—not in the sense of dropping into infamy, but she becomes almost a thing in a family. She is really the drudge of the household in which she obtains a precarious support. She may be kicked and cuffed; she may be thrust into corners, with the rats and bats and the rubbish of the house; she may be made to undergo the severest physical labour of which she is capable. All this, in most cases, does not touch at all the pride of the head of the household nor his sympathy. She is a widow, she is a thing.

### Widows who were never Wives.

Twenty one millions of widows in India, half of them never wives! all of them doomed by custom to lives such as these. I affirm that this series of facts is more

horrible than cannibalism in the Fiji Islands, for that was a temporary affair, and passed away swiftly. It is more horrible than the occasional occurrence of such a scene as I have described out of the records of tropical Africa. Here are 250,000,000 of human beings in an Oriental empire, permeated by civilization to a great extent; here is a people under British power; here are subjects of Queen Victoria—living lives to which suicide by fire is in many cases preferred. All through Northern India I saw little white stone monuments at various spots on hill-slopes, and in the vicinity of temples, and occasionally by the seashore, to those who had performed suttee—that is, to widows who had burned themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands. A certain honour was attached to this act. A lady, well acquainted with the opportunities of observation which I had in the East, was told by a cultured Hindu gentleman in Bombay that suttee is in very many cases undoubtedly preferable to enforced widowhood, and that, as the Government forbids suttee, and does not forbid enforced widowhood or child marriages, an old remedy for one of the miseries of Hindustan has been taken out of the hands of its population. A remark of that kind may be a bubble, indeed; but it shows which way terrible currents of distress run. Suttee has destroyed its thousands; but the custom of child marriages its tens of thousands.

### Proposed Memorial to Queen Victoria.

The British Government ought to prohibit child marriages, as it did suttee. It should prohibit them, as it did the crushing of men and women under the wheels of the car of Juggernaut. It should prohibit them, as it did the exposure of the aged and of the very sick on the banks of the Ganges, and the filling of their mouths and nostrils

with the sacred mud, even before life was extinct, and occasionally, no doubt, for the purpose of bringing life to an end. Just as the British Government has prohibited Thuggery and hook-swinging, so the best reformers are now claiming it might and ought to prohibit the child marriages, which are the pedestal on which enforced widowhood stands.

If the noble women of the various American Women's Missionary Societies should unite with their English and Scottish coadjutors in sending to Her Britannic Majesty a memorial urging the prevention of child marriages in India by the law of the empire, they would, in my jugment, be doing not only a benevolent, but also a timely and dignified act.

### Need of Female Physicians in India.

It is impossible to speak frankly on many delicate portions of my theme this morning; but who doubts that child marriages explain a portion of the physical weakness of the Hindus? Who doubts that this race, which came from the north-west side of the Himalaya Mountains, and belong to the same stock with ourselves, would be developed under far more favourable circumstances for the production of strength if child marriages were abolished? Who doubts that medical science ought to be carried to the doors of Hindu households by women.

A man is not consulted as a physician by a woman in a Hindu household. You find some of the poorer classes of the Hindu ready to go to the hospitals that the missionaries open and obtain medicine; but, as a general rule, a Hindu woman had rather die than receive assistance from a man as a physician—at least, if the assistance requires that he should enter the zenana, the sacred female apartment of the Hindu home. An American medical missionary was not long ago called on to save the life of a wife of a

prominent Hindu gentleman, after the native physicians had failed to be of service. He could not see the patient; he was refused admission to the zenana. Finally, as the case was urgent and as the head of the household had a somewhat unusual freedom from Hindu prejudices, the physician was permitted to go into the room where the woman lay ill. She stretched her arm through a curtain. He was not allowed to feel the pulse; but the husband felt it, under the direction of the physician, and thus a certain amount of information was obtained in dubious style. A slit was cut in the screen, and the poor patient made to protrude her tongue through it; and so the physician obtained further knowledge as to her physical state—prescribed the proper remedies, and her life was saved. But that husband would rather have seen his wife on her funeral pile than have allowed this missionary to see her. Who can remedy these terrible mischiefs endured by women in Asia, except female medical missionaries? They are wanted all through India. They are wanted in large numbers. They are wanted for zenana work, in teaching, for all kinds of instruction in mission schools, and secular establishments of various kinds. An angel from heaven itself, as has been often said, would not be welcomed in many Hindu zenanas more cordially than a well-instructed female physician.

There comes a new life into a household, and in those sacred hours when a mother trembles between this world and the next, she is usually treated like a thing! even in the best orthodox Hindu-pagan families. She is put into the worst room, probably, and for days and weeks no one is allowed to go near her. The air of the room may be like that of a miniature Black Hole of Calcutta, and yet there is no attempt made to purify it. She has only coarse food. Any touch of this mother by other members of the household is pollution. Many lives have been lost

simply by this barbaric exposure under circumstances when all human instincts called for the use of the highest medical skill. Send India, then, medical missionaries, equipped with the best learning of our Occidental science; send medical missionaries, females, with their hearts aflame with the gospel—and, beyond any doubt, you will be doing for India what Christ our Lord meant that his disciples should do, when he said to them, "Heal the sick, preach the gospel." The two duties go together, and we are to follow them to the ends of the earth.

### Summary of Evils.

It is only possible here and now for me to mention among the evils of woman's condition in Asia, and ask you to keep long and often in your thoughts, the almost total neglect of the education of daughters, the arbitrariness of divorce, the bondage to coarsest and severest physical toil, infanticide, especially in China, the binding of the feet of Chinese women, the vices of the scoundrel whites in the seaports of the Orient, and lastly, polygamy.

### The Wail of Humanity in Asia.

Consider, my friends, how vast Asia is, and how populous with brothers and sisters, and little children, as innocent and sunny-eyed as yours. After five lectures, in four consecutive days, under a vertical sun, and to great assemblies, in the rustling paradise of Ceylon, I left that island on the last day of March, less than a year ago, and soon found myself in the mighty port of Singapore, near the equator. Blue Sumatra lay in the distance; Borneo, with its pagan tribes and its birds of paradise, was not far away. British fleets were there, almost a squadron of

powerful vessels; and I saw a similar sight in the majestic harbour of Hong Kong. British power is visible in half the outlooks on any coast of the globe, in the ocean highways, in the Eastern hemisphere. And so, pausing at Canton, and giving there a lecture, I drifted, after nearly a month's voyage, into Japan—an idyl of Nature, seen in the idyllic season of May. There was much, of course, to give cheerfulness; much, of course, to awaken encouraging thought as to the future of Asiatic reform; but as I coasted along Ceylon, and the Malay peninsula, and vast China, day after day, I seemed to hear across the roar of the waves the turbulent sound of the billows of humanity breaking with a wail on the stern coasts of our yet barbaric days: 300,000,000 billows in China, half of them women, 250,000,000 such billows breaking on the shores of India; multitudes upon multitudes coming out of the unseen, and storming across the ocean of time to break on the shores of eternity. And the sound of that sea was a wail from servile labour, the dwarfing of the loftiest capabilities of the soul, through ignorance and false faiths; infanticide, polygamy, concubinage, enforced widowhood, and many a nameless condition preventing the development of woman into that angelic thing she is by nature, even without education. I heard the wail of these hosts until I found myself resolved, whatever else I might do or might not do, to echo the sound of that ocean in the ears of Christendom, until, if God should permit, some adequate enthusiasm for the reform of woman's condition in Asia is awakened in the Occident. I wish every city of 20,000 inhabitants in America and Europe, would send one female missionary into pagan lands.

Your sisters, your brothers! Come near enough to them, and they seem quite human. The last meal I took in China was with a magnificent native, who had founded a

Christian college, and was a millionaire. He had bird's-nest soup for breakfast, each cup of which cost five dollars, and each guest had two cups. A house more palatial than I ever saw in Boston. A man of vigour, as well as of refinement; of large quantity, as well as of excellent quality; speaking English brokenly, but a prince in his manners. I saw a large number of persons of that type. General Grant is said to have made the remark that the ablest men he saw abroad were Bismark, and Gladstone, and Li Hung Chang, Prime Minister of China. I found China, close at hand, looking as if she might be able ultimately to insist on the keeping of treaties with even domineering Britain and haughty America.

### Summary of Remedies.

Notice, my friends, eight remedies for the evil of woman's condition: zenana teaching by female missionaries; homes for temporary assistance to women; female medical missionaries; female schools; admission of women to university examinations; abolition of child marriages by law; a pure gospel taught to the whole community; native helpers in abundance; new fashions set by imperial courts and by the upper classes.

The Empress of Japan, who is childless, is making herself the patroness of female education. Most of the great missionary bodies are opening vigorous schools for young women. The Parsees of Bombay, a remnant of the old Persians, are beginning to educate their daughters almost as thoroughly as their sons. All through Asia the cry is rising that women must be taught the elements of education. The most surprising, and, perhaps, the most significant increase in missionary work in India, in the past decade, has been in the department of woman's work. Not only have four new ladies' societies entered the field since 1871,

but there has been an amazing development of indigenous workers. In 1871 there were 947 native Christian female agents engaged in missionary work. In 1881 there were no less than 1,944. The number of European and Eurasian ladies reported is 541. The successors of Lydia and Priscilla and Phebe and Persis and the daughters of Philip already outnumber the 586 men who not many years ago monopolized the use of the title "missionary." The progress of zenana work has been astonishing. Ten years ago Bengal had more zenana pupils than all the rest of India put together. Now the North-west Provinces have the largest number of this class of pupils. The total number of female pupils has increased from 31,580 to 65,761.* A new leader of reform has lately appeared in India, in the person of a learned young Brahmin widow, Ramabai, whose eloquence holds great audiences spell-bound in Bombay and Poonah and other important cities, as she dwells on the evil of child marriages, the education of females, the re-marriage of widows, and the folly of the caste system. Since the Ganges began to roll, no such figure as Ramabai has been reflected in its waters. Japan, however, has gone further of her own impulse in the direction of education for women than any other Asiatic nation, and the reform has there the patronage of the highest persons in the Court. It will not go backward. Put female education in Japan into the hands of Almighty God, and under his guidance the reform in that empire may become the day-star of the amelioration of woman's condition throughout the millions of Asia. This wail of the billows of humanity in India, in Ceylon, in the Malay peninsula, in Asia at large, especially in China, in the East Indies, in the Fiji Islands, and even in the Dark Continent, may one day turn into a shout of rejoicing. Provided only that the Occident does its duty, this tran-

* Recent Circular of Woman's Missionary Society.

sition may be swift; but if the wail goes on for a century or two more, I believe it will sound in our ears at the Judgment Day. We have power to send medical missionaries to these populations; we have power to send both secular and sacred education to women throughout Asia; and he who knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is a sin. Let this wail sound in the ears of sensitive women! Let it sound in the ears of strong men! Let it fill the whole atmosphere of Occidental Christendom, until we are aroused to make God's opinion our own as to what should be done for women in Asia, Africa, and all the isles of the sea!

# THE PRELUDE.

## English and American Journalism.

Average Britons reverence pedigree; average Americans, performance; the highest Britons, ancestry; the highest Americans, achievement. But there are two Britains and two Americas—a Tory and a Republican England—as there was once an oligarchic American Government under the slave power and a Republican Government in opposition to it. In our Civil War very few in England understood that there were two Norths and two Souths. There is an Americanized England and an Anglicized America, but the former enlarges its boundaries more rapidly than the latter. The Tory England of the privileged classes and certain sides of our fashionable society sympathize closely with each other, as do Republican England and our most progressive American reformers. Nevertheless, as Charles Sumner's experience—first as an extremely ardent admirer, and finally as a most vehement and searching critic of England—shows, even the best classes of the Anglo-American world often most seriously misunderstand each other in great matters, in spite of the speed and fulness of intercommunication between England and America in our brisk day. It is a little amazing to open an English historian like McCarthy, and read that during our Civil War those who endeavoured to show that it was not easy to find a convenient dividing line for two confederations on the North American Continent, were commonly answered that the Mississippi formed exactly

a suitable boundary. It was an article of faith with some of those who then most eagerly discussed the question in England that the Mississippi flowed east and west and separated neatly the seceding States from the States of the North. That is the wisdom of a certain portion of London club life.* John Bright used to say, during the hot contest against slavery, that every morning the leading newspapers of London went into the streets of Europe to curse the American Republic. It was a Liberal British politician who declared that the Republican bubble had burst. Lord Russell spoke of our war as a contest in which the North was striving for empire, and the South for independence. Mr. Gladstone himself once said that Jefferson Davis had made an army, a navy, and a nation. There were three Englands during our civil war—that of the operative and middle classes, usually for us; that of society in London and the shop-keeping class, dependent on society, usually against us; and then the Government, strictly so called, which never took formal ground in favour of the South, but seemed at several times on the very point of doing so. The densest ignorance was found not with the operatives, who in Lancashire endured a cotton famine, rather than assist in breaking the blockade of the Southern States; not with the middle class, represented by a John Bright or a Stuart Mill; but with the haughty fastidiousness of London luxurious circles; and even with the "Thunderer," which whenever it spoke on American affairs was commonly a Blunderer. The British Government itself was often exceedingly in need of information; for instance, when President Lincoln issued the emancipation proclamation, the only official reply made by England to that great act of our nation, was that it could not be made clear to British common sense why we emancipated the slaves in

* See "History of Our Own Times," by McCarthy, vol. ii. chap. xliv.

precisely those States where we had no power to carry out the proclamation, and did not emancipate them in the States of which we already had military possession. That was one of the sapient remarks of Earl Russell himself. Two English noblemen were once standing before Michael Angelo's statue of Moses, which was intended for the tomb of Julius II., and one of them asked: "Why should Julius II. be represented with horns?" The other replied: "They were a peculiarity of the Sforza family." No less a man than Chunder Sen, as we one day launched our small steam vessel on the Ganges, turned to his American guest and asked: "Have you any rivers in America as large as this?" I might have told him that it is a fact of physical geography that the seven largest rivers of Asia—the Oby, the Amoor, the Hoangho, the Yang-tse-kiang, the Yenesei, the Indus, and the Ganges—taken together, do not carry to the ocean as much water as the Amazon alone. Fearful of falling under suspicion of exaggeration, I was silent, for I remembered that Mr. Spurgeon once showed me in his study two pamphlet cases with the peculiar titles: "Bull on Bragging," and "Jonathan on Exaggeration."

In discussing foreign criticisms of the United States, my object is not to annoy either our critics or ourselves; but to strike, if possible, a fair balance between the ignorant and the wise criticisms, and between justifiable and unjustifiable self-estimation. Notice, first, a few points in the list of not very ignorant, unfavourable criticisms of America by foreigners:—

1. Our newspaper press is deeply coloured by our national and local peculiarities, good and bad; but as yet more thoroughly by the latter than the former. Nevertheless, although it nowhere represents adequately our best traits, we are justly proud of it, on account of the

merit of its upper portion. There is, however, a long tail to the kite of American journalism, and a considerable portion of it is bedraggled by the gutters. I have no patience with third and fourth-rate American journalism; nor with our people for having patience with it. I am proud of first and often of second-rate American journalism; but I am ashamed of our people for not giving our best newspapers as good a support as they give to fifth-rate and sometimes to seventh-rate effort in the newspaper world. Allow me to say that I hope I do not lack appreciation for our best newspapers. They pay more for news than the British newspapers do. *American first-class newspapers seem to me to be superior to the British in the discovery of news, while the British are superior to the American in the discussion of it.*

It is most interesting to compare the journalism of the outskirts and edges of the British Empire with that of the frontiers of the American Union. I confess I am somewhat humiliated by being obliged to admit that I think the British Empire throws the blood of its heart out into the finger-tips more thoroughly than we do the blood of the best parts of our civilization into the finger-tips of our frontiers. The newspapers of Australia are better than those of our Pacific slope. Look at this superb daily journal from Sydney, in New South Wales, Australia, the *Herald* [unfolding a paper before the audience], and which is called the *Times* of the Southern Hemisphere. The moment you take it in your hand you feel that here is a very different stock of paper than usually goes into even our best American sheets. You can carry that newspaper around the world, and unfold it every other day, without its becoming a rag; but there are many first-class American newspapers which you cannot use three days without finding them drop to pieces, of such poor quality is the paper. The mere

unprinted paper of the Sydney *Morning Herald* costs two-pence halfpenny, and the paper is sold for two-pence—that is, four cents—the income being derived largely from advertisements. You observe that this paper does not display its advertisements. They are all set solidly, an indication that space is worth something in this sheet. But our very best dailies, with the exception of about three in New York and two in Chicago, are full of garishly displayed advertisements; and what shall I say of journals in other parts of the country? It is a sign of a wide circulation in a journal to have compact advertising columns, without great loss of space occupied by screaming type.

Our dailies are improving rapidly; perhaps those of Chicago even more rapidly than those of New York. It does not become me to criticize the Boston press, for the best representatives of which I have great reverence. I wish exceedingly that the best of our newspapers were patronized ten times as well as they are. They deserve an immensely larger following than they have. I am obliged to notice, as I travel across the continent, that the wings of Boston dailies tire beyond the Hudson. Very few of them fly to Chicago. We have disadvantages here, because the ocean is on one side of us; we can send a daily only one way. New York has much the same disadvantage, in spite of the complexity of our railway system and her superior facilities for gathering news; Chicago has physically great advantages for the purposes of a daily newspaper, as it can send one four ways. That city is likely to be the newspaper centre of the country. San Francisco publishes no paper equal to the Sydney *Herald* or the Melbourne *Argus*, both of them provincial sheets in the British Empire. You say British newspapers are dull, and many of them are. But the best of them are not dull to men of thought and action.

They grapple with difficult subjects; they always furnish a leader or two on the most intricate and complex matters of public interest. Our journalism, I fear, is open to criticism for running into scrappy discussions, that catch the eye of the multitude, but do not really fix the attention of educated readers. Our dailies are not as ready as the best parts of the English press are to discuss difficult themes every morning, three hundred days of the year. On the other hand, our newspapers are probably more entertaining than the English. It will not do to speak of English journalism as all of it dull, because there is a class in society that finds mere scrappiness dull and thorough discussions in leading articles interesting. Let short paragraphs, as compact and incisive as sonnets, be made numerous on the editorial pages. They need, nevertheless, to be accompanied by leading articles containing a wider sweep of information and argument, and themselves as compact as sonnets, in spite of length. It is said that such articles are not read? Let them be on the most strategic and blazing of current themes, and the more thorough they are the more certain are they to command attention by rewarding it. There is room in America for a great improvement of our discussion of the news which we gather with such enormous cost. Why is it that our newspaper editors do not oftener remember the remark of the present editor of the *Tribune*, that the day is coming when the position of a first-class editor will be more influential in the United States than that of a member of the Cabinet at Washington?

It is often said by our foreign critics that we are governed by newspapers; but my reply usually has been: "No, not by newspapers; but by news, which is a very different thing." The glory of our press is that it is willing to expend enormously for news. Its chief fault is that it does not discuss this news with as much thoroughness

as the English would do, with the serious purpose of leading public sentiment. Of course, it is to be remembered that the arrangement of our politics is such that newspaper discussion is not very effective. Ordinary political campaigns often depend on quite other influences than newspaper discussion here and in Great Britain; but I cannot explain why so many dailies this side of Chicago appear to be afraid to have an opinion of their own. Do political parties own newspapers? Do counting-rooms put ropes around the necks of editors? What the people want in a newspaper is not only news, but intellectual and moral leadership. The chief writers for our daily press are brave and scholarly men; but they seem to lack a large portion of characteristic American courage in their discussion of issues unpopular with great leading parties in both Church and State. The press of Chicago criticises our Eastern press for timidity in presence of the foremost literary, political, and religious powers in society. The East values newspapers less and books more than the West does. The best parts of the Chicago press contain much that is raw and crude and sometimes utterly vulgar. The leading sheets of that city are to be praised as yet, chiefly for their vigour and enterprise. The quality of the journalism of Chicago is by no means equal to the quantity of it; but there is improvement in it, there is life, there is courage, and well there may be, on account of the geographical position of the city, which is the queen of our lake region and of the upper half of the valley of the Mississippi. Sunday editions are an industrial and moral nuisance with which first-class English dailies almost never trouble their printers and editors and the public. Our critical weeklies the foreign critics sneer at mercilessly. It is amazing that, with 53,000,000 of people here and less than 40,000,000 in Great Britain, she should look in vain for a parallel

among us of *Spectator*, or *Saturday Review*, or *Athenæum*. Her great quarterlies she thinks superior to ours in weight, as they certainly are in number; but I never found a Briton bigoted enough not to admit that our best illustrated monthlies surpass everything of their class produced abroad. It is safe to assert as a summary that there is much more room than is popularly supposed to exist for the improvement of both American and British journalism, through the imitation by each of the best traits of the other.

2. What is to be said of American manners from the point of view of our foreign critics? "Webster," said Thomas Carlyle, writing to Emerson, "is a dignified, perfectly bred man, though not English in breeding."* Far be it from me to assume that American manners must be moulded exclusively by British or French or German or Italian ideals. We are the foremost Christian Republic of all time and soon to be the wealthiest, as we already are the most progressive of the nations. We have a right to a standard of manners of our own; but we are most certainly open to criticism yet, as we were in the days of Charles Dickens's first visit, as to a number of large, avoidable mistakes in the field of manners. I do not know how I shall introduce the distasteful topic on which Dickens spoke so frankly, and which Mr. Emerson called "a fury of expectoration." This is an inveterate, but let us hope not an incurable, American disease. There is not a cuspidor in the public rooms of the House of Commons, nor in the hall where the members sit. I have been in many a great English hotel, in which I have looked in vain, outside the smoking-room, which I never visit, for one of those characteristic American utensils. What would a senator from Congress do in Parliament? This disease of ours results partly from our climate, no

* "Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson," vol. i. p. 248.

doubt, which is dryer than that of England. Miners and ploughboys in Australia fall into this American habit. The climate there, at least in the central portion of that continental island, is very dry. We have a reputation for excelling all civilized populations in coarseness in this matter. You would no more think of seeing in a first-class hotel in England or in the House of Commons or Lords—whatever may be the case in the smoking-rooms, on either side the main floor—one of these utensils than you think of seeing one in a church here. The fact that we can manage our churches properly shows that we could, if we would, manage other places properly. It is affirmed on the authority of official statistics that Russians and Britons consume annually only one pound of tobacco; but that Americans consume three pounds per individual —that is, about six pounds per man, not per woman, thank Heaven! There is a certain lawlessness about our habits in regard to our use of the weed which our continent gave to the world, that I have not seen matched anywhere, unless it be in the ruder portions of Germany. Certainly in England well-dressed persons are far more cautious about invading the rights of others through the use of this weed than they are here. If a man smokes or chews tobacco, and you affirm that he has a right to do so, it by no means follows that he has a right to make me smoke or to offend a whole company of people in a railway carriage, or even on the street, by a display of his offensive habit. I am ashamed of the good nature of Americans on this point. We ought, as Herbert Spencer told us, to be a little more ready to growl in the English fashion, in regard to small but real invasions of propriety, and we shall be ready to do this, no doubt, as soon as our population is more dense and it begins to cost more to let infelicities run their course. We shall arrest them when it is necessary to do so. Every generation our

ministry is taking a higher and higher position on the matter. There are a number of conferences of our mighty Methodist Church that will not now ordain a man who is an habitual user of tobacco. The greatest orator of Boston and of the United States, I heard once say that he hoped the time would come when no gentleman would smoke on the public streets. For one, I echo that sentiment of Mr. Phillips, and I wish we might have a far sterner public sentiment on this matter; not merely among men, but among ladies. If the gentler half of our population, the fastidious half, will assert its rights with a little bit of queenliness, men who have good habits will be immensely encouraged, and men who have bad will be made to feel the pressure of discouragement.

3. De Tocqueville thought that the bad management of our great cities will ruin us ultimately, unless we keep a large standing army to govern them. This sentiment is heard constantly among our foreign critics.

4. The corruption of our Civil Service is a theme on which it seems as if Von Holst, author of the most pessimistic European criticism of us written of late, must have been sent here to find ground for unfavourable opinions. I do not know that this author was subsidized by anybody in Germany to find out our faults and disgust Europe with American institutions; but, if he had been, his employers would have had reason to be highly satisfied with the results of his work. Let us study Von Holst, although he gives an hundred pages to the political chicanery of a Martin Von Buren, and hardly half a dozen to the great constitutional arguments of our Webster against the doctrines of the South as to nullification and secession.

5. Bondage to the uneducated, to illiterate voters or to the half-educated, this is the sternest of American woes, as our haughtiest foreign critics think. In view

of the extent of our illiteracy, it is difficult to show that there is not yet in this country something like bondage to illiteracy. In spite of the merits of our common-school system, our illiteracy is so great that in many closely-contested elections we are literally under bondage to the uneducated or half-educated.

6. Sharp dealing and distrust Charles Dickens thought the worst vices of American commercial, political, and even social life. When Richard Grant White was on the Tower of Windsor Castle one day, the old keeper there pressed certain attentions on him which the musing traveller tried to shake off. "I beg your pardon," said the keeper; "but I think you must be an American gentleman. I shouldn't have thought it if you had not been so suspicious. American gentlemen are always suspicious . . . . being so accustomed, you see, sir, to be taken in at home."* A more just or acute remark than this has not often been made concerning our characteristic American mental attitude. Every man here is his own manager; every man his own protector. It is characteristic of our pushing, fairly well-educated, shrewd American that the look of his eye is: "Cheat me, if you can." Far more often do you find this look here than abroad. It is a good thing, this self-reliance, if it do not degenerate into self-assertion. It is a good thing, this acute caution, if it do not become mere suspiciousness. It is charged against us that we are more shrewd than conscientious in the collisions of trade and politics. It is affirmed, and with some truth, I fear, that there is among Americans a tendency to sharp dealing in little things that is not found in British and German society. Undoubtedly there is rascality enough in the British Island, and, indeed, more physical brutality than here; but many an American critic has admitted that there is less sharp dealing in

* "England Without and Within," by Richard Grant White, p. 155.

small matters. In Great Britain everything centres in London, and, if a rascal is found out anywhere in the islands, he is gazetted in the great metropolis; while here you may know in one city that a man is a rascal, but not be able to proclaim the fact easily in one of a dozen cities to which that man may flee. There is opportunity to bring penalty on the dishonest man in Great Britain that there is not here. In a first visit abroad I twice found my American bankers falling into bankruptcy, and when I went abroad the last time I had an English banker—that is, I depended on a house in London. It is very humiliating to be obliged to make these confessions; but, for one, I have come home with the conviction that we are capable of a good deal of improvement in the matter of honesty in little things. An American may be and usually is the soul of honour in great things; but we allow an amount of sharp dealing in little things that would disgrace a man in many circles abroad. Do not say I have brought a railing accusation against the American character at large. We are more enterprising than any other people; competition is fiercer here than anywhere else on earth; there is vastly more opportunity to rise here than elsewhere, if you only have self-reliance and capacity. It is a great national allurement of ours, this of sharp dealing, and should be resisted with all the sagacity and force of the American character.

7. We are accused of having a fickle temperament. Britons, it is said, bear a long and steady strain in commerce, in politics, and in war better than Americans. "We do not care to be troubled with this theme any further," we say very often of an important but wearisome public duty. "We are too busy with our own affairs to attend to it. We have heard enough of it." "Let us not have this man's name in the newspapers any more." "Hush up the matter. What if we have not reached the truth

concerning it as yet? We have no time to investigate it thoroughly. Let it drop." This comes partly from American overwork, from American haste, from the absorption of individuals in their own affairs, where all have a chance to rise; but I fear there is a certain fickleness of temperament which proceeds from other causes. It is most certain that the physical fibre of Americans is refined by our climate. The magnetic pole of the earth is the forehead of this continent. The magnetic intensities of our climate are greater than those of similar parallels abroad. Our climate is dryer, and for this and a multitude of other reasons, we are developing something of the Greek temperament and the Italian. If you put Greek and Italian finesse with Anglo-Saxon daring, may God have mercy on the civilization that will be developed unless Christianity purifies it. Give the American as much conscientiousness as he has will and finesse, and I regard him as incomparably the noblest human creature on earth. But there are many things that develop our will and our tendency to sharp dealing more rapidly than our conscientiousness. Our very temperament lead us, perhaps, into the Greek and Italian quality of fickleness. At the bottom of this tendency lie our superior capacities for art. We are developing in this matter far more rapidly than Britain ever did, and, as I shall show in a moment, are surpassing her through delicacy of touch. This comes from our new temperament. I am now speaking of the dangers of this temperament; but its blessings are very great. American oratory depends on it to a large extent. We are more fluent than our British ancestors. It has been said that whoever is brought up in the electric climate of our country, under our Northern Lights, in our nearness to the magnetic pole of the world, under our common school system and our opportunities for political advance-

ment, is born with a speech in his mouth; but, if a Briton is born with a speech in his mouth, it is a speech with a stammer in it and a halt. Nevertheless, he utters very good sense, usually, and there is capacity for a long pull and a strong pull in him. I have the feeling that the Briton is our superior in endurance, while we are his superior in the matter of incisiveness, insight, and swiftness in presence of any difficulty.

8. We are criticized for having too little original literature. British and German literary circles have a mild mania for something in poetry and prose that is distinctively American, We are savagely criticized for saying "I guess," where the Englishman says "I fancy." It is enough to mock us in the eyes of certain critics as a nation of Philistines that we "guess," and "reckon," and "calculate." Britons who forget that these phrases are never used by persons of thorough culture and careful habits of speech among us, are also very likely to forget how many millions of Englishmen have trouble with the letter H. The American vulgarism, after all, although its use is not to be defended for an instant, was once good Chaucerian English. Six times in as many pages of Chaucer I found this American phrase—

> "Her yellow hair was braided in a tress,
> And fell adown her back, a full yard long, *I guess*."

Our New England colonies, founded just after Shakespeare's time, brought his English to America, and our long colonial isolation fixed it in our usage, while British English has been Johnsonized and thereby not improved. American English to this day is more nearly Shakespearian than British English.

9. We are criticized for lack of participation in the affairs of the Old World. We are said to have no sympathy with the struggles of weak nations outside America. Following the advice of Washington to keep out of en-

tangling foreign alliances, we have rarely, except once, in the case of Greek independence, expressed an opinion on affairs in the other hemisphere. We are sharply criticized for this by the best English and German philanthropists, and especially by those of France, for France has made it her glory to help weak nations.

10. We are criticized for overwork and the haste that makes waste. Every American, so Europe thinks, is born half-an-hour too late, and is trying all his life to make up lost time. This is Herbert Spencer's criticism, and is one of the most just ever passed upon us.

To look now at a few points on which opinion is divided abroad, I will mention, first, Protection, which the mass of Britons, of course, do not believe in. If you are ever annoyed in British society by the persistent presentation of the advantages of Free Trade, turn about upon your critic and say: "Free Trade may be a very good thing; but do you believe in Free Trade in land?" That question usually staggers a Briton like a cannon-ball amidships. Several of the great States of Australia do not believe in Free Trade just now, although 10,000 miles of ocean between England and Australia constitute protection for these colonies. Opinion is divided as to the separation of Church and State; but the most advanced of English reformers believe in the American ideal on that matter.

*What are the favourable foreign criticisms on America?* Is it admitted that on a few points we have indisputably acquired a certain superiority to Europe? In machinery we are confessedly superior. For nearly every purpose to which labour-saving machines are applied, American inventions lead the world. Our watchmakers dazzle the Swiss and English; our cutlery outsells the British, even in Sheffield. The London *Times* once said there was not a more amazing outburst of genius in old Greece in the matter of art than there has been in America in the

matter of machinery. It is confessed that our best engraving far surpasses the English. I heard one of the foremost publishers of Edinburgh, Mr. Nelson, whose name is held in honour on both sides the Atlantic, say he could find nobody in the British Islands to do for him such work as is issued every month in the *Century* and in *Harper's Magazine.* Our railways, on the whole, are to be regarded as the best in the world, although Britons will be slow to adopt our system for their small islands. Where there must be great rivers of night travel flowing constantly, sleeping coaches must be introduced; but there is very little night travel between even London and Edinburgh, and so there are only two or three railway lines that have sleeping cars in Great Britain. The compartment car has advantages of its own in a mild climate, like that of the British Islands. The American system of checking luggage is the best in the world.

Our best writers of monographs in science have the most unfeigned respect of the leaders of science in Europe. For example, take the recent essay of Professor Abbot, of Cambridge, on the Fourth Gospel; take certain publications of the Smithsonian Institute; take such scientific treatises as Professor Peirce used to issue in astronomy; take the very best of our work in regard to electric lighting, and it is confessed that we are not surpassed, even in the haughtiest circles of science abroad. Our common school system, on the whole, is greatly admired, though probably it is not superior to that of Prussia, nor to that which England and Scotland will soon have. The aspiration of our masses, the temperance reform, the absence of a law of primogeniture, and of a hereditary house of legislation, our just land laws, our high wages—are all eulogized abroad.

The best way to decide how much truth there is in foreign criticisms of America is to notice what your own

secret thoughts are as you return to your country after a long absence. As I crossed the Continent, lately, I kept a blank book open before me, in which I entered on the right-hand pages what I admired in American civilization, and on the left what I disliked. A very singular and suggestive manuscript thus came into existence. The lists which I have now given of unfavourable and favourable criticisms made by foreigners are almost precisely what my criticisms were as I came back to my native land. America has ceased to be excessively sensitive to European criticism or even to British. The poet Tennyson said to an American Northern gentleman, in a London parlour, during our civil war: "I wish you to understand, sir, that my sympathies and those of society here are on the side of the South." "I wish you to understand, sir," the American replied, "that we of the Northern States do not care where your sympathies lie. We expect to fight this war out on our own plan, for our own good, and that of the human race." Tennyson treated his guest with increased respect after this speech. America is of age. Nevertheless, in Occident, as in Orient, the worth of international criticism increases with its intelligence so rapidly in our day that the wisdom of Robert Burns deserves cosmopolitan application:

> "O, wad some power the giftie gie us
> To see ourselves as ithers see us;
> It would from many a blunder free us,
> And foolish notion."

# LECTURE.

## XI.

## JAPAN, THE SELF-REFORMED HERMIT NATION.

PHYSICAL May in Japan is endlessly beautiful; but her spiritual springtime is yet more fascinating, although it has not reached May yet, but is in early April. How swift and vast the change from its recent pagan January and February and its stormy, revolutionary March. Civilization in Japan puts forth buds of joyful promise. The spring brooks flash and foam where a little while ago the land was locked in the drifts of hermit politics and religious traditional misbeliefs. The landscape is full of pleasant sights and sounds and odours. Now and then the song of birds fills the fresh air. It is good to be in Japan in the vernal season of the regeneration of an empire, and to have opportunity to cast a few seeds into the giant, virgin furrows of reform, never before as promising as now in the Far East.

### LAND AND PEOPLE.

What is the land of the Rising Sun? What are the chief traits of its people?

Approaching Japan from the West, over the misty and often turbulent Chinese Sea, you awake one bright Spring morning, and find yourself in the presence of the paradise of green, conical islands which surround the harbour of Nagasaki. The celebrated missionary, Xavier, lived

and laboured on the Island of Firando, not far to the north. You are soon sailing close under Pappenberg, the Tarpeian Rock of Japan, where in 1638 hundreds of Japanese Christians, who had accepted Xavier's doctrine, were cast headlong upon the tusks of the reefs at the foot of precipices and into the sea. The birds sing audibly, in spite of the throbbing and the clanking of your ship's engines. The pines seem to stand as solemn mourners at the summit of the cliff, and to gaze in perpetual sadness down the murderous crags. You repeat Milton's sonnet on the massacre of the Piedmontese, and cannot deny yourself the delight of anticipating the ultimate religious regeneration of Japan, as you recall the heroism of her early Christian martyrs, when, as yet in the seventeenth century, they had been taught only the corrupted faith of Rome.

The faces of many aged women and men whom I saw in Japan interested me exceedingly by their thoughtfulness, symmetry, gentleness, and a kind of patient force, not unaccompanied by a considerable spiritual elevation. If you wish to know the real traits of a people, study the faces of its men and women in their advanced years, before the strength of the body has begun to crumble, and when ripeness of the soul is at its best. I think the faces, especially the eyes of virtuous people in advanced life among the Japanese, are more nearly civilized than those of any other population I saw in Asia. The eyes are sensitive and sober, penetrating, and usually conscientious, fairly forceful, and almost never arrogant or evasive. The children of a nation do not reveal its characteristic traits so thoroughly as its aged people, for their faces have not been chiselled by the experiences of life. One finds in the countenances of those who have fought the battle of their earthly careers the marks of both their natural and their acquired spiritual postures

and activities. *The faces of its old men and women are the best map of any nation's capacity and actual life.*

The islands of Japan are best compared to those of Great Britain. They lie off the coast of Asia, much as those of Britain do off the coast of Europe, and are not far from the same size. There are four islands, however, in the Japanese group that are of very considerable extent. The central and largest one is rather longer than Great Britain. From its extreme southern portion to its northernmost point its length is equal to the distance from New York to Chicago; from the tip of the lowermost of the four large islands to the tip of the uppermost the distance is that from New York to Omaha, or from Edinburgh to Naples, in a straight line.

Passing through the Straits of Shimonoseki, any American or Britain ought to hang his head, for here, in gallant self-defence, a Japanese Prince resisted the domineering entrance of English and American vessels into his waters, an act for which Japan was obliged—not merely by Englishmen, but by Americans—to pay a large indemnity. After any amount of intricate lobbying, it appears that a portion of this money, now amounting, with its interest, to $1,800,000, is likely to be paid back by our Congress; but a larger sum than goes to Japan is to be given to the officers and crew of the vessel that we thrust into that most unrighteous sea fight, or in other ways retained by us. The Shimonoseki indemnity was wrung from Japan by a process no better than robbery. Thank Heaven that we are doing a little to show that we revere justice. Great Britain has done nothing in the matter as yet.

### Inland Sea of Japan.

The Inland Sea of Japan is a gleaming silver and azure plain, 200 miles long, surrounded by bold and

picturesque hills of vivid green, and dotted with hundreds of islands of surpassing beauty in their forms, groupings, and verdure. The eye never wearies of the study of its terraces of waving wheat, its hillsides clothed in thick green copse, and their summits crowned by the murmurous gnarled Japanese pines, outlined against a sky as soft as that of the Mediterranean. Plainly, this land has never been ground by glaciers. Whoever would grasp the controlling fact concerning Japanese landscape scenery must remember that the islands of Japan are volcanic in their origin, and that what we call the drift in geology has never been passed as a gigantic rasp over the conical hills thrown up by force of earthquakes and inner fires. Japan is part of a mighty submerged mountain-chain, extending from the Kurile Islands far southward, and lying on the edge of a great depression in the sea-bottom. There are twenty active volcanoes in Japan, and several more in the Kuriles. The chief peculiarity of Japanese scenery is that the hills have not been worn down by glacial action, and so there are a certain sharpness, symmetry, and nameless grace in Japanese landscape views that I have not found in other parts of the world. The tops of the hills are frequently as sharp as they can be without land slides. Often there is breadth on them for but one row of pines. When a delicate haze overspreads the landscape, it causes the hills to appear higher than they are, and the trees on their tops to look unnaturally large. Japanese landscape painting has been criticized for making trees too large for the hills on which they stand; but one glance at the characteristic scenery around the inland sea, shows that what appears disproportioned in Japanese representations of landscape is really a close copying of Nature.

FUJI-YAMA

Early one morning you are looking anxiously toward the East for a first view of Fuji-Yama while it is wholly covered by dark grey and purple clouds, which become fleecy white a third of the way up the arch of the sky. Gradually, as the sun beats upon this vaporous eastern wall, it falls apart, and above it looks out something white and vast, with an outline that does not crumble in the sunlight. This is Fugi-Yama, the sacred mountain of Japan. You will never forget its glorious height, its saintly snows, its dazzling contrast with the azure behind it, nor the fleecy multiplex vapours with which its breast is enswathed and its feet covered down to the very edge of the far-flashing sea across which you gaze toward the whole celestial vision. When you turn, later, northward, into the Bay of Yeddo, you see nearly the whole outline of the mountain rising against the sky, like an open inverted fan. Standing wholly alone, and having an altitude of over 14,000 feet, Fuji-Yama draws to itself from all Japan admiration and sometimes adoration. The natives really worship it as itself a god, and not merely as the Greeks revered Olympus as the dwelling-place of the gods. Fuji is said to have risen suddenly in the third century before Christ, in a great earthquake, from the level of the sea. As its birth was portentious, it may well have originated devout awe among the inhabitants of the tottering island through whose crust it shot toward the sky.

You land at Yokohama, a beautiful city, partly on a sea-washed plain, partly on a bluff, and your chief anxiety, after twenty-seven days at sea, is to escape into the green fields as soon as possible. After an outline study of the city, you employ a mellow, sunny afternoon in a rural excursion, which turns out to be idyllic. I must show

you the land and people before I show you their reforms, and I ask you now to look upon a landscape which certainly is not easily matched anywhere on the globe. You roll smoothly along in your man carriages, which are simply magnified child's carts, drawn by men—Pullman cars. You look abroad over the blessed billowing grain, and remember the dearest country haunts with which you are familiar on the other side of the globe. Fuji gazes at you from the west. Mississippi Bay flashes from below you on the east. Here are the waters through which floated the ships of our American Commodore Perry, who was sent to Japan, in 1853, by Daniel Webster, the first of our statesmen, to insist on the opening of Japan to Western commerce, and the earliest circle of that typhon of reform which has since swept over the empire. On this shore stood the natives, who thought Perry's steamers were imprisoned volcanoes. At the edge of these waters, in 1854, he set up a mile of telegraph wire, and had a locomotive put into action on an iron track. You pluck familiar flowers of the temperate zone in a walk through the green fields. Here are white clover and red, the violet, the dandelion, and the wild strawberry. The cherry blossoms, so prominent in Japanese art, are but a little past their prime, while the camelias and the azaleas, in the fullest blaze of their beauty, are drinking the mild sunbeams of the fresh sea-wind. At the foot of the bluff you take your jinrikishas in a picturesque village, and roll slowly back to Yokahama, through wonderfully verdant landscapes of rice-fields and pine-clad hills. Some of the slopes are covered with thickets of the most graceful bamboos, and now and then you see a somewhat chilled and undergrown palm. The wheat fields rustle on the right and on the left. The pine tree sing. The sunlight falls as a benediction on land and sea. You seem to hear a tremulous celestial

music in the sky between Fuji and the great deep. Looking up, you find that your fancy has not misled you. Far above the green, solemn country are floating in the sea-breeze Japanese kites, with Æolian attachments, raining down a concord of sweet sounds—now low, now loud, now apparently near and now distant, but always mysteriously ravishing to the ear and soul. Poems have been written by scores, in many languages, to express the mysterious meanings of the music of an Æolian harp; but of all positions in which this most pathetic and touching of musical instruments can be placed, the best is in the evening twilight and the fragrant winds of spring, far aloft between the seashore and the stars.

### Causes of Reform in Japan.

What were the chief causes of the reform of Japan?

1. The rivalry of the emperor and his chief general, the former called the Mikado, and living at Kioto, and the latter the Shogun, and living in the city now called Tokio, and exercising really imperial power.

2. The opposition of Japanese scholars, and especially those of the school of the Prince of Mito, to this dual government and to the usurpations of the Shogun. This prince was born in 1622, and died in 1700, and is regarded as the real author of the movements which culminated in the revolution of 1868.

3. The fall of Pekin, the accession of the Tartars, and the overthrow of the Ming dynasty in China, and the dispersion of many refugee Chinese scholars throughout Japan, in a manner analogous to the dispersion of Greek scholars throughout Europe, after the fall of Constantinople, in the thirteenth century.

4. The oppressiveness and corruptions of the feudal system, of which the Shogun was the head.

5. The influence of Western secular civilization on Japan after her gates were opened by the American Commodore Perry, in 1853, and by subsequent British and other European intercourse.

Perry arrived opposite Yokohama July 7, 1853, and made a treaty there March 8, 1854. Webster and Everett did more than any other Amercan statesmen for the opening of Japan. It ought to be of interest to citizens of New England, that the very first official document ever written by an American concerning the opening of Japan was penned by Daniel Webster, when he was Secretary of State, under Mr. Fillmore. Our own Edward Everett followed up the enterprise most vigorously. To-day, in the Bay of Yeddo, you have two islands named from these two Americans. No thoughtful citizen of our Republic can pass these spots without thanking God that the genius of these statesmen unlocked one of the rustiest hinges of the far East.

6. The introduction of Christianity into Japan at various periods from the time of Xavier until that of the self-supporting native Japanese churches of the present day.

7. The native aspiration of the Japanese.

In this list of causes which have led to the reform of Japan you will notice that I have not put into the foreground foreign influence. Japan was reformed from within.* Foreign influence was more the occasion than the cause of her entrance upon a new political, educational, and religious career. It ought to be remembered constantly that the dual government of Japan, under what were called the spiritual and the temporal emperors, never had the cordial support of the best scholars of the Empire. The Prince of Mito secured the publication of a history of Japan in more than two hundred volumes, but containing

* See Griffis, "The Mikado's Empire," especially chap. xxviii.

not much more matter than Bancroft's History of the United States. It soon became a classic, and educated the best circles of the Japanese into opposition to the usurping Shogun, at Tokio. Little by little patriotic public sentiment was aroused. As the Shogun was the head of the feudal system, I suppose his power would have been overthrown with violence, even if foreigners had not opened the ports of Japan. It is sometimes said by British writers that the bombardment of one or two Japanese towns introduced a new career in the Empire. Cannon-balls and powder, and British bravery, are to be credited with all the impulses that set in motion these great reforms. The truth is that, without any bombardment of Kagoshima, or Shimonoseki, or any other place that has been approached by Britons or Americans in our capacity of pirates, the Japanese feudal system would have been overthrown. The head of it certainly would have been cut off; for, before Perry landed, public sentiment was ripening for the overthrow of the Shogun. The head of the feudal system once cut off, it was easy to bury the body. It is true that feudalism was put down after the country was opened to foreigners, but the best judges, both foreign and native, are of opinion that it would have been put down without any incitement from abroad.

There is a very suggestive parallel between the dispersion of the Greek scholars through Europe, after the fall of Constantinople, and the dispersion of the Chinese scholars through Japan, after the fall of Pekin. The downfall of the great city of the Bosphorus was the beginning of a new period of culture for all Western Europe, and so the downfall of Pekin was the beginning of entirely new impulses in Japan.

Notice that feudalism in Japan was very oppressive, very corrupt. Great nobles spent their days in de-

bauchery. They had, indeed, some military ability; they were proud of reputation with their fellows, and were accustomed to commit suicide at the slightest infraction of their personal honour. Harikari, in Japan, was abolished only of late; but these men, in spite of their bravery and their honour, were often exceedingly tyrannical and utterly debauched, and lived on taxes wrung from a comparatively virtuous peasantry.

The chief influence, after all, in the reform of Japan came from the native aspiration of the Japanese character. If the head of the Chinaman is turned toward the past, that of the Japanese is turned toward the future.

### Japanese Art.

In spite of the fascinations of the theme, I have no time to pause on Japanese Art further than to say that I believe that, since the old Greeks, there has been no nation that has had a larger spark of celestial genius in this matter than the Japanese. Already their art is colouring more or less many portions of Occidental art. Probably no one school in art has done more to acquire a cosmopolitan influence during the last thirty years than that of Japan. No people known to history has ever exhibited a more intense love of the beautiful in Nature than the Japanese. The native encyclopædias are accustomed to point out the fine scenes of the noblest cities, lakes, and mountains. You bathe in Lake Biwa, and, opening a native description of that wonderful sheet of water, you find much mention made of its eight beauties. No Greek, Roman, German, or English eyes taught the Japanese to see beauty in Nature. Its enchantment seems to have been a passion with them for ages. Carlyle says that descriptions of scenery were not common in European literature, until after Goethe gave

to the world the "Sorrows of Werther." But here are the eight beauties of Lake Biwa, as described by the Japanese in their own books when as yet they were a hermit nation :—

> "The Autumn moon from Ishiyama;
> The Evening Snow on Hoia Yama
> The blaze of Evening at Seta;
> The Evening bell of Mii-dera;
> The boats sailing back from Yabase;
> A bright sky, with a breeze, at Awadzu;
> Rain by night at Karasaki;
> The Wild Geese alighting at Katada."*

### Native Endowments of the Japanese.

You give twelve lectures in Japan: six in English, and six through an interpreter. As you study your crowded native audiences in Yokohama, Tokio, Nagoya, Kobe, Osaka, Kioto, and Nagasakè, you gradually form definite conceptions of the peculiarities of the physical, mental, and moral temperament of the Japanese. Undoubtedly, they have the temptations to falsehood and sensuality, which are peculiar to the most sensitive races. Aspiration, honour, industry, patience, and cheerfulness, however, are natural to the Japanese character, and need only to be crowned by thorough training in Christian conscientiousness, to transform the native sensitiveness of organization into a blessing, and make it consistent with the judicial type of mind. The Japanese have been called the French of the East. They seem to me to be more sober than the Gauls were, as Julius Cæsar found them more gifted in art, more aspiring, while not less generous, courteous, and brave. The Japanese are occasionally criticized for being physically small. I call them the diamond edition of humanity; but they are marvellously well-formed, fine-grained, and compact in organization. A great physician told me he measured

* Ernest M. Satow, "Central and Northern Japan," p. 89.

the height of an hundred as they came into his dispensary, and that the average was five feet two inches, which, I believe, exceeds the height of Isaac Watts or Napoleon Bonaparte.

The Japanese are exceedingly fine steel. The edge of the battle-axe in the Japanese soul I think is sharper by Nature than in the Briton, or in the German, or in the American. There is not as much weight in the axe. There is not so much length of helve. This is the power of the German, the Briton, and the American that, even with a dull edge, there is such size and weight in the axe, such length in the helve that the edge cuts its way through this rough world. The Japanese is the more delicate structure; sharper, but without as much weight in the metal, perhaps. Nevertheless, there is still great weight behind the helve, as in the Saxon or in the Frenchman, great smoothness in the helve and toughness. In ordinary affairs the Japanese will do better without education than the Briton or the American. They are a people of an ancient civilization; they show the mark of it in their faces. The quality of steel is so good that a little education sharpens them immensely. They improve faster under a given amount of training than the German peasantry, or the British, or the average American. This is saying very much; but I respect immensely the fibre of the Japanese steel, and the form of the axe and its achievement in cutting down the mighty tree of feudalism, and in beginning to cut down the still mightier tree of paganism in the Japanese Empire.

### Extent of Reforms in Japan.

What is the extent of the reformation in Japan?

1. It is represented in outline by the celebrated charter oath of the Emperor taken in 1868 and faithfully kept to this hour:—

"A deliberative assembly shall be formed. All measures shall be decided by public opinion. The uncivilized customs of former times shall be broken through. The impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of Nature shall be adopted as a basis of action. Intellect and learning shall be sought for throughout the world, in order to establish the foundations of the empire."

Think of such a proclamation as that issued by an Asiatic prince, whose family antedates the Roman Empire. He claims to be the 123rd of his race in succession from an emperor, whose date is about 660 B.C. It is affirmed that the dynasty of Japan is the oldest known to history. This document is the real basis of the new government. The Emperor promises the organization in 1890 of a national parliament, based on representative institutions. When the Emperor took the oath he was only sixteen years of age. Its words were put into his mouth by the real leaders of the revolution—Okubo, Kido, Iwakura, Sanjo, and other rising officials, many of whom had received important impulses toward reform by what they learned of the Occident in studying in missionary schools. These men were almost all business managers, factors, and retainers of the territorial nobles.

2. A large measure of freedom of the press is guaranteed and newspapers are numerous and influential.

3. The feudal system is overthrown. An hereditary nobility, with at least 600,000 retainers, is disarmed. The rule of the Shogun is ended. The Mikado has supreme power.

4. The army, navy, and post-office system have been reorganized on the best Western models.

5. A university has been opened at Tokio, common school education made compulsory, and seventy per cent. of the children of school age brought under instruction.

Schools for female education are efficiently patronized by the Empress and the nobility.

6. Practical ownership of the land has been taken from a few privileged classes, and given into the hands of the people. The Emperor retains a title in the soil; but the peasants can buy and sell leases of it for long periods.

7. The abolition of most of the restrictions as to the admission of foreigners to the empire.

8. The general toleration of the preaching of Christianity and the growth of self-supporting Christian churches and schools.

9. The sending of embassies to the Western nations, beginning with the visit of Iwakura Tomomi and his associate ministers to the United States in 1872, and so making the circuit of the world.

10. The activity of native authors, teachers, politicians, and reformers in the common purpose of regenerating Japan by the adoption of the best portions of the civilization of Europe and America.

### Dangers in the Japanese Future.

Let me now answer the question: What dangers are yet before Japan as a reformed country?

1. The too speedy introduction of representative institutions.

2. The growth of party spirit under political rivalry and enlarged freedom of public discussion. Imported heresies in political economy, such as Socialism and Nihilism.

3. A large public debt, burdensome taxation, and threats of bankruptcy.

4. The death-struggle of reformed Buddhism, Shintoism, and other native hereditary misbeliefs.

5. Imported unbelief.

Several teachers from the West have assured Japan that Christianity is waning in power in the Occident. Japan needs to know the difference between the cream of the Occident and its driftwood and scum. Nihilism, Socialism, Agnosticism, positive Atheism float into Japan on the waves of our literature. Only a scholarly and aggressive Christianity can guarantee the prosperity of the Japanese future. After Iyeyasu, one of the greatest of Japanese heroes, had won the battle of Sekigahasa, he sat down and tied on his helmet, and said: "After victory tighten the cords of your armour." His wisdom is peculiarly necessary to Japan at the present hour of her great transitional period. Let her study the West until she learns that it is Christianity that has made the foremost of Occidental nations free, intelligent, powerful, and progressive. Japan will soon be too well educated to be misled as to the real sources of the greatness of England, Germany, and America. I hold in my hand at this moment the catalogue of the stock-in-trade of the chief Japanese book-shop in Tokio, and I ask any one who doubts my assertion to look into it for proof that there is as good a collection of English books as you will find in almost any book-shop in the Occident. I hold in my hand the examination papers of the Japanese University. They are as searching as those of Harvard or Yale, or Oxford or Cambridge, the classics only excepted. Her inherited misbeliefs, which cannot endure the light of real research, Japan is vigorously casting off. God grant that the land of the Rising Sun may speedily cease to be the land of bats!

# THE PRELUDE.

## International Duties of Christendom.

Not reformation only, but regeneration, is the demand of Christianity, of every individual, every people, and the whole unified family of the world's nations. As with the poet or the orator, it is not the inspired word that gives the inspired mood, but the inspired mood which gives the inspired word; so it is regeneration of the world that is to bring about its reformation, and not its reformation its regeneration. It is religion that is to be the basis of all really hopeful and permanent secular reform, and not secular reform that is to bring in by and by a perfect religion. My conviction is profound that the preaching of the Gospel must go before any pervasive self-supporting success of great philanthropies, even in pagan nations, and that we must look for the world's regeneration in a large part before we can expect its reformation throughout any very wide and untroubled portion of its now vexed, fickle, and degraded populations. The perfection of civilization will not be reached until the world, as a whole, learns the strange new wisdom which is not the cause, but the result of total and affectionate self-surrender to God. When once a royal procession was passing a bridge across the Spree, in the city of Berlin, Julius Müller, then a young man, fell into that river and was in peril of death. He yielded to God utterly as he sank in the waves; he gave up his soul completely to his Father, his Saviour, his Lord; and

the bliss of the surrender, the inner fruitfulness of it, the strange, new, unsuspected power and peace which came from it were his inspiration throughout all his subsequent devout and learned career. He found that yielding to God utterly gives an inner sense of God, just as, on a lower plane, the poet or the orator finds that yielding utterly to the inner impulse of conscience gives an intellectual power, a moral insight, a capacity of expression, a freshness, an incisiveness of phrase entirely unobtainable by mere will or by any method of intellectual prudence. Yield to the winds of the uppermost heavens, if you would produce any divine effect through speech. Take the most advanced of present nations, and how near are they to having this inner wisdom of self-surrender to God? Do they possess any considerable amount of the genius that comes from harmony with the divine laws of the human spirit and of the development of history at large? Only that inner wisdom and that genius can give us the height of human progress. The principal periods of vital reform in history have come from really slight touches of this wisdom in a few circles or individuals; but to see whole nations moved by it and the world melodiously loyal to it would be to witness the fulfilment of a prayer which is universal and yet to be answered, that God's will may be done on earth as in heaven. As, in the individual, an inner regeneration must precede any thorough outward reformation, so, in the whole world, which is made up of individuals, we must look to religion as the basis of secular reform. Nothing less stern than this is fit to be preached in the name of science or revelation.

1. The growth of Christianity is already so great that it is responsible for the maintenance not only of national, but also of international morality.

2. But international morality cannot be maintained without leading to the reformation of international law.

In the first 1,500 years of the history of Christianity [referring to four large coloured charts on the wall] it gained 100,000,000 of adherents; in the next 300 years 100,000,000 more; but in the last 100 years it has gained 210,000,000 more. Please make these facts vivid. Here is a staff. Let it represent the course of Christian history. Let my hand represent 500 years. I measure off 500, 1,000, 1,500 years. In that length of time how many adherents did Christianity gain? One hundred million. I add three-finger breadths more. In that length of time how many adherents did Christianity gain? One hundred million. In the 300 years succeeding the Reformation, Christianity gained as many adherents as in the 1,500 years preceding; but, I now add a single finger's breadth to represent one century. How many adherents has Christianity gained in that length of time? Two hundred and ten millions more. Such has been the marvellous growth of the Christian nations in our century, that in the last eighty-three years, Christianity has gained more adherents than in the previous eighteen centuries. These are facts of colossal significance, and they cannot be dwelt on too graphically or too often. By adherents of Christianity I mean nominal Christians—that is, all who are not Pagans, Mahommedans, or Jews. At the present rate of progress, it is supposed that there will be 1,200,000,000 of nominal Christians in the world in the year 2,000.

I am citing these figures from an expert. These diagrams have been most kindly loaned to me by my friend, Dr. Daniel Dorchester, author of the book well known to scholars here, entitled "The Problem of Religious Progress." I do not hesitate to say that Dr. Dorchester's calculations are the best I can find on either side of the Atlantic. I am tolerably familiar with German, Scottish, and English statistical discussions of

the religious progress of the world, and I am proud to say that American discussion on this matter, since the publication of Dr. Dorchester's volume, must be admitted to be as thorough and scholarly as any that has been published abroad. In the last years of the world's history, there has been a progress of Christianity with which nothing can be compared except its advance in the apostolic age.

On the basis of these facts I stand, then, and maintain certain propositions which may sound to you radical, but on which as I happen to know, there is a profound agreement already of foremost agitators and philanthropists within the field of the Christian world.

3. The united Christian sentiment of the globe has power to seize by the throat and break the neck of any unjust international movement.

4. As the slave trade, piracy, and other international evils have been wholly or nearly abolished, so all the abuses that remain in the conduct of nations toward each other must be reformed.

5. It must be proclaimed unflinchingly that even commerce is not to stand in the way of righteous judgment in the affairs of nations.

Why did Great Britain recently make war with Egypt? Because of commercial reasons. There was likelihood that Egypt would run away with the funds that were needed to pay certain European creditors, and so England and France declared war. I am not saying that, everything considered, this war was wholly unjustifiable; but I have immense sympathy with John Bright, who resigned his position in a proud English Cabinet, simply because he felt that commerce in England's relations to Egypt had throttled moral law, and because he believed that the moral law should throttle every unjust thing in commerce. The time is coming when not merely statesmen of the most eminent rank will be ready to speak roughly

to the unscrupulous portions of commerce; the press also, and perhaps, by-and-by, the parlour and then the pulpit will acquire a similar courage. Nay, nay, let me not be too ironical toward our brave men in pulpits. They have usually done their duty; but yet, occasionally, they need to be encouraged to a far franker attack upon the vices of the respectable portions of Christendom. It will not be greed and selfish desire for commercial aggrandizement that will ultimately control the international relations of the globe. Merchants did not govern this nation when once the evil of slavery was vividly seen by the churches. Money is mighty, but not almighty.

6. It is chiefly to-day the inertness, the greed, and, occasionally, the moral unscrupulousness of nominal Christians, under temptation of gain, which maintain the worst international abuses of the world.

Make the nominal Christians real ones, and the principal evils of this earth will vanish out of it, as the snow-drifts disappear under the vernal heat. As slavery was abolished, so a multitude of abuses yet notorious in the international relations of populations called Christian would disappear were once nominal Christians made aggressive ones.

7. Commerce itself, in spite of its selfishness, and even on account of it, may become a chief support of international reform.

8. *Communication between nations is becoming so swift and pervasive that it must lead to contact among nations, and contact to conference, and conference to concert, and concert to co-operation, and co-operation to virtual moral confederation.*

9. What is wanted is not a union of Christian or even of Protestant or English-speaking nations; but an alliance consistent at once with self-government with the different nations, and with a cosmopolitan and Christian internationalism in their concerted action.

Not proposing the formal political confederation of Christendom; but its close moral alliance, part with part, throughout the whole earth, I defend a number of definite measures that would secure, if carried, what scholars have been asking for these fifty years—universal peace, justice in the relations of strong nations with weak, and a general advance of Christian principle through all the departments of international law. Let me name twelve measures required by international morality:—

1. Arbitration in place of war in every case to which it can be applied; treaties including agreements to use arbitration before resorting to war.

Mr. Bright, in 1849, supported Mr. Cobden when the latter presented a petition of 200,000 names to Parliament asking that arbitration be made a remedy for war in every case to which it is applicable. The petition was not granted; its supporters were regarded as fanatics. Some of the greatest philanthropists of Europe put themselves on Mr. Cobden's side, Victor Hugo among them; and so, little by little, the ear of the world was obtained. In 1873 the House of Commons passed a resolution praying the Queen to put a provision making arbitration a remedy for war into every treaty she should make with foreign nations. The lords never passed that measure. Our own House of Representatives, in 1874, passed a similiar resolution. This last winter a distinguished Massachusetts senator, whom may God bless, introduced that resolution once more, and it will not always sleep, even in our Upper House. Our martyred President Garfield announced that arbitration was the settled policy of his administration. He wished to bring together all the nations of this continent, and enter into a treaty with them to make arbitration a remedy for war in every case to which it is applicable. Commerce was asleep; commerce was counting its dollars in its tills;

commerce was bending over its muck-rake and forgetting the glorious crowns of philanthropy, which are far flashing things in history long after individual or even national wealth is forgotten. Little Peru, in South America, called for a convention to make arbitration the rule of this hemisphere. It is only of late that we have begun to appreciate our interests in South America as merchants. Britain is in advance of us commercially in that part of the world; so far from her, so near to us. It was for our interest to hold this convention; but we were far too busy to attend to the matter, even when Garfield proposed it. What we want is that not merely among English-speaking nations, but throughout the whole globe, it should become the practice to make arbitration an international system, and thus a remedy for all wars to which arbitration can be applied. I beg you to notice that I am not a defender of the principle of non-resistance. There are wars that are just; but, as Mr. Bright is reported to have said, no war since the time of William III. has been thoroughly justifiable except that of the Northern States for the abolition of slavery and the preservation of our Union.

2. The complete abolition of the slave trade on the sea.

You say that we have abolished it. Not we. Great Britain has put forth herculean efforts to abolish the slave trade, and is yet engaged in that majestic business. Between Africa and Persia the slave trade is vigorous yet. In the Indian Ocean slave traders are constantly watched by British men-of-war. America ought to help in that chase. She is too penurious to do so. Commerce holds her back. Why should she attend to this matter? Here again we must take the Church by the hand a little earnestly, and commerce also, and awaken both to the prompt performance of this international duty. Great Britain is really carrying out her anti-slavery principles

better than we are. She has at this time many men engaged in suppressing the slave trade, and I do not know that we have one. She has called on us for assistance, and some other nations are helping her; but, in spite of our general agreement in our present opinions about maritime rights, and our pride in having abolished slavery, we are yet behind the British Empire in this matter. I do not know but that the time will come when Christianity will demand that we should put an end to the slave trade on the land. David Livingstone wanted that policy adopted even in his time. The horrors of the internal slave trade in Africa are at this moment unspeakable. Personal contact with them, such as Stanley or a Livingstone has had, shows that Africa, even in our time, is a shield with streams of blood running down to its edges. Along the slave-trails that run to the eastern and northern ports of Africa murders and other atrocities occur so frequently that it is no exaggeration, but literal fact, to say that the trails are blood-stained. They are marked by the bones of thousands who have fallen on them. The slaves that are shipped off in Moorish and Arabic vessels from the coasts of Africa are far more numerous than you dream; and yet America sits here in her Bostons, her New Yorks, her Chicagos, and thinks herself enlightened and advanced, and philanthropic, while Great Britain, mighty as she is, finds herself unable to repress this trade.

3. The wider protection of the rights of neutrals in all wars.

4. Common laws as to copyrights and patents.

We steal more books from England than she does from us; but she steals more patents from us than we do from her, and I would put two abuses together, and reform them.

5. Postal union facilities of all kinds.

6. International bills of exchange.

I hold in my hand an elaborate volume on international law, written by our own David Dudley Field, and he has in it a very massive section of international bills of exchange, in favour of which a heavy clamour is arising in London, Paris, and Berlin.

7. The extension of international law to the Orient, Africa, and all the weakest nations.

8. Mixed courts, made up in part of judges from one nation and in part of judges from another, for the trial of international offences by individuals.

In China and Japan there are mixed courts now; but they are full of abuses, which it is the office of international morality to reform.

9. An international police.

10. A scholarly codification of international law as far as it now exists in a positive form, and the adoption of a brief summary code by the advanced nations.

Of course, no nation could be held responsible to such a code until it should have adopted it for itself. Let the eight principal powers of the Occident—England, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, France, Spain, and the United States—adopt such a code, and it would make its own way, ultimately, through the world. Forty-six nations have agreed to define maritime rights in certain ways; sixteen nations are united now in a postal union.

11. A high court of arbitration in case of disputes between two nations.

12. An annual conference of nations, with a view to facilitate intercourse, prevent abuses, and secure international peace.

When the Panama Canal is cut, why should the United States not guarantee its military neutrality? All wars should be kept out of it and the Suez Canal, and out of the seas sixty miles from either end of each. The

interests of neutrals in modern European wars have become so important that the great powers have often guaranteed the military neutrality of Belgium, the Rhine, and Switzerland. In Australia I heard statesmen saying that, after the Panama Canal is cut, the time will come when Cobden's doctrine will look practical; that the great highways of commerce on the chief oceans should have their neutrality guaranteed by the leading powers of Christendom. The time is coming when to the English speaking nations of the world and the self-reformed hermit nations of Asia, the Pacific Ocean will be only what the Mediterranean was to the Roman Empire.

Napoleon Bonaparte, speaking at St. Helena of the Peace of Amiens, said: "I had a project for general peace by drawing all the powers to an immense reduction of their standing armies. And then, perhaps, as intelligence became universally diffused, one might be permitted to dream of the application to the great European family of an institution like the American Congress, or that of the Amphictyon, in Greece, and then what a perspective before us of greatness, of happiness, of prosperity; what a grand and magnificent spectacle!"

Immanuel Kant, in 1795, proposed, in the interests of universal peace, a plan of international action, consisting of these details: (1) No State to be merged in another by exchange, or gift, or force; (2) Ultimate abolition of standing armies; (3) No State debts with reference to external politics; (4) No State to interfere by force in the affairs of another; (5) Every State to have a Republican constitution, or one in which all the citizens share in making laws and deciding on questions of peace and war; (6) International law to be based on a confederation of free States; (7) A citizenship of the world limited to the notion of the free access of all men to, and their residence in, any State upon the earth's

surface; (8) An international conference at stated intervals.*

Bentham, in 1789, advocated a similar plan. He was willing that a fixed contingent should be furnished by the several States for the purpose of enforcing the decrees of an international court, but he thought that public opinion and the progress of a free press would prevent the necessity of such an extreme measure.

David Dudley Field, of New York, has written the most searching and suggestive volume yet published on a proposed International Code. In case of the disagreement of any two nations, parties to an adopted code, he would have them seek a settlement through the advice of a Joint High Commission, of their own appointment. If its advice is not taken he would have a High Tribunal of Arbitration appointed to give a final decision. His suggestions as to how this tribunal should be chosen are drawn up with great sagacity, and yet, no doubt, would need to be modified by experience. On the supreme matter of infractions of the rule of loyalty to the adopted code, his proposal is: "If any party hereto shall begin a war in violation of the provisions of this code for the preservation of peace, the other parties bind themselves to resist the offending nation by force." †

International reform, you say, is a mere kite flown in the winds of philanthropic discussion, and is useful only as a toy. Your Sumner was accustomed to fly it, however, and so was your Longfellow:

> "Down the dark future, through long generations,
> War's echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease;
> And, like a bell with solemn, sweet vibrations,
> I hear once more the voice of Christ say—Peace."
>
> LONGFELLOW, *The Arsenal at Springfield.*

Charles Sumner, through his whole career, was a de-

* See Kant's works, ed. Leipzig, 1838, pp. 411—466.
† Field's "International Code," second edition, 1876, p. 371.

fender of the principles on which scholars are trying to build universal peace. He believed in war, indeed, such as our Northern States fought to abolish slavery and maintain the Union; but his aim was to spread the white robe of peace around the whole earth. This same kite has been flown by John Bright, by Cobden, by Immanuel Kant, by Bentham, by President Woolsey, by David Dudley Field. When the suspension bridge was built at Niagara, the first thing done was to send a boy's kite over the chasm. It carried a silken cord across the roaring abysses beneath it, and that cord drew after it wires, and the wires cables, and the cables a bridge which now bears the thunder of traffic between two empires. Just so this thought of a league of advanced populations; this idea that it is the duty of Christendom to maintain international morality, and thus to lay the basis for reform of positive international law; this scheme of an Anglo-American alliance; this theory that it is possible and desirable to bring all enlightened nations together in a cosmopolitan moral confederation, may be a kite flown in the winds of discussion; but, if you fly it often enough and long enough on both sides the Atlantic and Pacific, and in the northern and the southern hemispheres, it may ultimately carry over the roaring abysses of international prejudice a silken cord of Christian amity, and that cord may draw after it wires and cables, and by-and-by a bridge, which shall bear the weight of the heaviest international reforms, and uphold, at last, the feet of the white Christ, as he walks into the dawn of the millennial day.

# LECTURE.

## XII.

## AUSTRALIA, THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND INTERNATIONAL REFORM.

ONE morning in the Chinese Sea you wake, to find yourself opposite the mouth of the Yang Tse Kiang River, which has but three superiors in point of length in the whole world—the Nile, the Mississippi, and the Amazon. Two hundred miles from the coast this mighty stream colours the ocean yellow. As you stand on your ship's deck, on one edge of the river at its mouth, and look with a glass across its flashing amber and gold in the sunrise, you cannot see the opposite shore. It flows through the most populous river valley of the globe. Ocean steamers ascend it to a point 700 miles from its mouth. It is the commercial highway of China. In respect to the multitudinousness of the human lives connected with its banks, it far surpasses at present the Amazon, the Nile, or even the Mississippi. You land at Shanghai, and give a course of lectures there, a city in a level plain, stately mercantile palaces, British, French, German, American, fronting the curve of the small but crowded river that flows through it. The highest hill in the city or vicinity is said to be the swelling arch of a certain bridge over this river, so completely flat is the whole country in this portion of China. You drift from Shanghai down the grey and green and yellow coast to Fuhchau, in order to catch a tea-ship to Australia, and you find yourself in a mountainous region, sublimer than

the Danube flows through anywhere, except at the Iron Gates. You pass your last night in Asia in a stately mansion on the shore of a river more beautiful than the Rhine, and in a chamber with an outlook superior in most physical respects to that from the castle at Heidelberg. The City of Fuhchau is the port of a vast tea region; and it is from that portion of the Asiatic coast that you take your departure into the Tropics. Your last view of Asia you obtain as you lose sight of the bold scenery on the river near Fuhchau. A loud thunderstorm is lashing the barley terraces, the tea plantations, the pine forests, and the grand templed hills, and you lift up your right hand and say: "May God hasten the regeneration of Asia." And so, with a bursting heart, you turn your face, probably for ever, from the most thickly peopled continent of the world.

### Crossing the Equator.

Three hundred miles of steaming sea, heavy clouds, and incessant tropical showers; then a zone of calms, comparatively clear sky, and little rain; then a second long stretch of steaming sea, low, black clouds, and numberless vigorous showers—such is the order of your experience in crossing the mystic line which separates the northern from the southern half of our little globe. Your decks are drenched at sunrise by an unusually heavy downpour, in which the rain seems to fall in sheets and streams, rather than in drops. This clears up the sweltering heavens, and soon you shoot into an utterly quiet ocean and move on for several days under a most peaceful, azure sky. The "zone of calms," as Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner" says, is a terror only to sailing vessels, and these lie around you in stately torpor; but the engines of your steamer rejoice in the quietude of the winds.

Day by day the sun rises and sinks, the stars and the crescent moon come out with indescribable majesty and beauty. You see twelve showers at once walking around the rim of the sky over the distant purple of the tropical ocean. The waves, especially near noon, are of a deep crystalline blue, which you never saw surpassed in intensity of colour even in the Mediterranean. About ten o'clock one Monday morning, the sun shining with vigour, but not fiercely, on a steel grey and violet sea, in which no land is in sight, you are told by the ship's officers that you are crossing the Equator. There is no mark on sea or sky; but there is, nevertheless, above you and beneath you, a geographical reality, of which the effects are visible through all the zones. Here the trade winds rise, and to this region they return. Here begins the mighty system of currents of air, flowing from the Equator to the Poles and back again. Your thoughts dart around the world on the track of the Equator, hang above Borneo and Sumatra, the Indian Ocean, the great African lakes, the sources of the Nile, the Atlantic, the Amazon, the Andes, and look outward to the tropical lines of Cancer and Capricorn, and beyond them to the two wheeling, snow-capped Poles, and beyond them to Him who upholds them. Here, first, as you dip into the Southern Hemisphere, and find the sun north of you at noon, you begin to feel the sphericity and the comparative insignificance of the size of our globe.

It is in the nights that the chief sublimities step forth. Ursa Major and the Southern Cross stand over against each other at about equal heights, and gaze on land and sea with looks of benediction, and on each other with harmonious interblending of light and love, and upon infinite space around them, and upon the unspeakable Omnipresence in it with an awe and worship which strike you dumb for many an hour.

### Approaching Australia.

You glide smoothly through the East Indian Archipelago; you see the black, naked natives among their straw huts and under the cocoanut palms on shore. All along the sandy beaches the heavy timber, filled with a tropical tangle of vine and mosses, almost dips into the leaping waves. Uncouth canoes ply among the coral reefs. You see the groves in which are to be found the ourang-outang and the birds of paradise.

Australia at last rises from beneath the Southern Sea. It is a grey, windy June morning; but the temperature and clouds of a northern November come whistling up from the ice-fields of the South Pole. You sit in your ocean chair, in your ulster, and write with a stiff hand in the frosty air. Bold, blue mountains, with many purple bays and green-wooded headlands, form the coast on which you look across five or seven miles of angry, foaming, autumnal sea.

What are the organizing dates of Australian history? 1606, the island discovered by the Dutch; 1770, East Coast discovered by Captain Cook; 1788, Sydney founded; 1837, Melbourne founded; 1851, gold discovered in Victoria; 1853, transportation of convicts to Australia forbidden. Around these six points crystallize Australian years thus far.

As you write at the foot of the mast, the blue sky begins to smile above the grey and purple coast. The sociable gulls flock above the wake of your ship. The stormy petrels skim the wrinkled waves. Now and then shoals of porpoises shoot with easy grace from the green, huge, watery hills, and slide down them half revealed and half concealed among the azure currents and silver foam-bells.

God willing, an Anglo-American alliance will yet en-

circle the world. You are in Australia partly for the purpose of studying what the prospects are for the moral federation of the English-speaking populations of the globe.

Happy valleys, like that of Rasselas, lie under the cool sunlight as you gaze westwards on Australia from your ship which coasts southward, now along gigantic coral reefs. Forests of grey gum-trees, which shed their outer bark, but not their foliage, rustle in the fastnesses, where yet roam the emu and the kangaroo. The silver shafts of the mellow afternoon sun fall in benediction on hedgeless pastures and bleating flocks. Pleiades hangs over the Northern Sydney Head, as your ship, at five o'clock on the morning of your 19th day from Fuhchau, turns into the famous Sydney Bay, a harbour of whose beauty you have read much, but which exceeds, as does the noble and proud young city on its shores, your highest expectations.

### Cities in the Southern Hemisphere.

It has pleased Almighty Providence to bring into existence in Australia the most brilliant group of cities in the Southern Hemisphere. Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide are incomparably the most important municipalities south of the Equator. I am quite aware that Brazil has a larger population than Australia—about ten millions of people are in Brazil; but far more than half of them belong to a servile class, or to one which was lately in bondage. There is no slavery in Australia, thank God, and not likely to be. Although some abuses in the labour trade of the northern parts of Queensland have occurred, you see in the faces of your superb audiences at Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide the thunderbolts that will ultimately put an end to the unrighteousness of the Coolie traffic in Australia. You find in

the three or four millions of its present population the pilgrim fathers and mothers of the future of Australasia. Here are as many people as the United States had when they broke off from the British Empire.

### Promises of the Australian Future.

What is the attitude of this mass of human beings toward great questions of religion and politics? I narrow the topic and raise here simply the inquiry: What are the promises and what the perils of the religious future of Australasia? Notice among the promises:

1. The quantity of the prospective population—100,000,000 at least. There is room in Australia and the islands near it for 200,000,000 of people. Look at the map and observe that Australia, although it could be buried in the United States, would leave very little extra space. Excluding Alaska, we have just over, while Australia has just under, 3,000,000 square miles of soil. The interior of Australia is by no means as near a desert as our older geographies led us to suppose. If you will dig artesian wells for your flocks, you can drive them from one end to the other of the continent and support them all the while from the natural pasturage. One day you are conversing in the beautiful city of Adelaide with a Scottish gentlemen, prominent in politics and education, and a great holder of property in the interior of Australia. You mention to him the Australian desert. "Why," he says, "I am soon to send 3,000 cattle to the very country of which you are speaking, and they will stay there twelve months." With proper reservoirs for the rain and with artesian wells, the interior of Australia can be made easily effective in multiplying the wealth of the country in flocks and in herds. You remember, too, what gold mines are in Australia, and how, to this hour,

the fear of exhausting them is a thing that belongs to the next century. Some are exhausted or appear to be; but, if you go to Ballarat and Sandhurst, you will find the industrial attitude and sentiment among the miners and great speculators reminding you of some of the very best days of our Californian gold fever.

2. The quality of the population: English and Scotch and chiefly Protestant.

Thank Heaven that the Southern lands are not likely to be settled by Asiatics, but by the foremost Western peoples. No doubt there is a great future before Japan and China, but it is fortunate that Australia is not to be indebted to them for more than a fragment of its population. It is quality that makes nations great. The pioneers of Australian civilization are picked men. The vast breadth of ocean which separates this continental island from Great Britain and Europe acts as a protective tariff with regard to the things of character. It appals drones. Second-rate men have rarely pluck enough to go across this breadth of sea.

3. Its inheritance of high ideals and approved institutions in education, politics, and religion.

4. Its achievement up to the present time in education, politics, and religion.

Australia has done better things for her churches and her schools than our Pacific slope has yet done for its own. My conviction is strong that Australia is more thoroughly filled with the best influences of British civilization than our Pacific slope is with the best of our own.

5. The freedom of the population from precedent and its inclination and opportunity to choose the newest and best.

6. Its broad suffrage and the consequent political necessity that it should make education and religious training general.

7. Its separation of Church and State, and the consequent necessity that the churches should depend on self-help, and not on State-help. The unity, purity, and aggressiveness this necessity will foster.

8. Its close moral and educational, as well as political, connection with England and Scotland.

9. Its distance from corrupting neighbours and the usual paths of wars.

10. Its prospective confederation.

11. Its mobility of ranks in society, and consequent aspiration of the masses for culture.

12. Its central position and immense opportunity for usefulness in Japan, China, and India.

You think it strange that intercolonial tariffs should be kept up between the Australasian colonies, and so do the best men of those colonies themselves. The presence of a little common danger—say, the appearance of a couple of Russian privateers off the Australian coast—would precipitate the confederation of these colonies. They now tax each other. They are as proud of their separateness as they, in a hundred years, will be of their union. Each leading city expects to be the capital of the confederation—at least there are three cities that are probably candidates for this position, and glorious cities they are, either of them worthy of being the capital of a great nation. Sydney, the first one you visit—Sydney, with its hundred bays; Sydney, possessed of the finest harbour in the Southern Hemisphere, unless it be that of Rio; Sydney, which is a dream of beauty in its position by land and sea, is a royal child not unworthy of its parentage in the best of emigrant populations from England. There was once a Botany Bay near Sydney; but, if you go to Australia and speak of the population there as being descended from convicts, your mouth is soon closed, not by a haughty reply without fact behind it

but by actual evidence. It is true that convict families have had successors in Australia, but the whole system of the transportation of convicts became a gehenna. Australia herself was one of the foremost powers in that combination of forces which caused its abolition. Since 1853 this transportation has ceased, and that date now is a long way off. The population has increased faster, in many portions of Australia, than in any part of our American Union during the last twenty years. The result is that the present atmosphere of society in Sydney reminds you of that of London. The present atmosphere of Adelaide reminds you of Edinburgh. Melbourne can receive no higher compliment from your present speaker than the assertion that she is the most like Boston of any city he has visited on a tour around the world. Melbourne is aggressive, incisive, almost breathless in her activity—the most American of all the Australian cities. Sydney would not like this praise of Melbourne, and Melbourne would not like my praise of Sydney; and yet, after all, their rivalry is more good-humoured banter than serious commercial collision. There are, no doubt, some important conflicts of interests between the two; but they will drift, within fifty or, at most, a hundred years, as I think, into the most peaceful confederation. As one nation, the people will feel that their responsibilities are continental. Confederation will strengthen all the excellent tendencies of the country and enhance the value of the inheritance and achievement of the population—its freedom, universal suffrage, and present arrangements as to Church and State.

Out of Australia, as I believe, are to come forth important forces facilitating reform throughout the East. From the centre of a population of 100,000,000, under the Southern Cross, will be shot javelins of Christianity and of lofty political and educational influences into the

very heart of Japan, India, and China, and even of the Dark Continent itself.

### Perils of Australia.

Notice next a list of the perils in the religious future of these Colonies under the Southern Cross.

1. The concentration of its population in cities, and the comparative smallness of the rural population.

2. The necessity of managing cities under universal suffrage and party government.

3. The absence of an aristocracy and a leisured class, to set a high standard in manners and social fashions.

4. The formation of new classes in society, especially of a lawless and explosive lower class, a pushing middle class, and an overworked upper class.

5. The crude transitional state of the democratic thought of the masses in our day.

6. The rising to power of a generation that has not seen England or Scotland.

7. The opportunity to gain wealth swiftly, and hence haste to be rich.

8. Passion for amusement and luxury.

9. Excessive secularism, arising from the complete abolition of Church and State in a population not accustomed to the exclusive use of the voluntary system in Church affairs.

10. Sectarian rivalry from the same cause.

11. Bondage of pulpit to pews under the voluntary system.

12. Climate—increasing the danger of the characteristic vices, and weakening the characteristic virtues, of the British people, energy and purity suffering always some diminution in sub-tropical regions.

After all, I regard this climatic influence as by no

means the least of the perils of the Northern Australian populations. Britons in Queensland are in the climate of Spain and Algiers. Tasmania is like England in her climate. New Zealand resembles portions of the mother island, but the most of Australia lies in a sub-tropical climate; and already in the younger population you begin to find developed some of the fringes of the vices of Spain and Italy, and of the whole region of the sub-tropical world. Such intemperance as Britons cannot endure at home is swiftly fatal in Australia. Give me the deliverance of Australia from the vices peculiar to certain climates, let Christianity purify the populations in such a manner that they may shine with beams as keen as those of their own constellations, and there will not be on the face of the globe in one hundred years—except, possibly, in this Republic—a more influential gathering of English-speaking people than in Australasia at large.

Australia is the most Americanized portion of the British Empire. It is so vast that in the few months which you spend in it, in meeting crowded lecture appointments, you cannot see half of it. But Australia concentrates its population in its cities. In fifteen cities of Australia and Tasmania, in which you lecture, you find more than half the population. The towns cling to the river courses and the best seaports. Australia is, and for ages is likely to be, a crescent of population. The tips of it are at Port Darwin in the north, and at Adelaide in the south. The chief thickness of it is at Brisbane, Sydney, and Melbourne. This crescent will enlarge until, perhaps, there may be in it, in Australia alone, a hundred million of people. Near the crescent will burn two stars of the first magnitude—Tasmania and New Zealand. Minor stars like the Fijis, and smaller islands under British control, will surround this

group, and so the whole constellation will float through the azure of history.

### The Sandwich Islands.

You leave this land uttering the prayer of its own motto, "Advance, Australia," and in a few days, pausing only for a single lecture at beautiful Auckland, in green New Zealand, you are at the Sandwich Islands. You meet a chief justice, several professors and missionaries, see the king, gather a collection of curiosities and State documents, deliver a lecture, and get back to your steamer through the tropical dusk, all inside of five hours.

You are leaving at Honolulu the last land that you are to visit before you see once more America, your own. There is a crowd on the wharf, partly of Americans, but chiefly of natives, and as your majestic steamer drops off shore into the scented dark you hear many voices call out, "Aloha," which is the Hawaian for "Farewell, and God bless you." You have studied these islands from afar, and understand very well that this call is in some sense the wail of a race about to be exterminated. *Morituri salutamus:* "We who are about to die salute you." There is endless pathos in the tender intonation of the final courteous wish of the natives as you drift from their shore. You find summed up in that wail your whole experience of listening to the innermost heart of humanity. In that wail you hear the millions of India utter their desire for progress, the millions of China call out for a better future, Japan express herself with emphasis on the side of advanced civilization, the islands of all the seas lift up their prayer to Almighty God for regeneration.

### Reminiscence and Return.

For several days you feel like turning back upon your course and visiting again every people that you

that you have found struggling toward the light. Your heart is on the Thames and the Rhine, it is on the Tiber and the Ilissus; but you find your enthusiasms for classical lands overborne by the tides of new Oriental and Southern enthusiasms. Your heart is on the Ganges and on the Yang Tse Kiang, it is on the slopes of Fuji-yama and the Himalayas, it is on the shores of Australia and in the islands of the Pacific, it is here in the Hawaian group at the foot of Mauna Loa. You feel almost ready to make a resolve to go back around the globe before you die, if God will, and this time toward the setting sun, and meet once more all the nations that the English speech can reach. You lean in the midnight, against the mast of your ship and look upward on the familiar constellations which now begin to rise out of the north. They are tremorless in spite of the tossing of all beneath you, and your heart is as fixed as they, never on land or sea, to be disloyal to international duties. America is dear to you as never before. The first sight of it, as you strain your lonely and thirsty eyes eastward, overwhelms you. You have been a pilgrim long. On the sunrise of your 25th day from Sydney, the blue heights of the coast range, above the dim mists that shroud the Farallone Islands and the Golden Gate, greet you from your own skies. El Capitan seems near. Whether you have any friends left you in your native land you do not know. You make no predictions, no promises; but you are resolved that, whatever may betide, you will do your utmost while you live to lift your own nation to a sense of cosmopolitan obligations.

Nowhere on the globe is there a nation which has such influence beyond its own borders as our own. Great Britain has more political, but the United States more moral, influence than any other nation. It is because of the advance of education and democracy; it is because of

the progress of Christianity, that at the bottom of the wail of every semi-civilized people you find American aspirations. In Switzerland I heard the news of the death of Garfield, and all the Alps seemed quivering in sympathy with our national bereavement. In Ceylon I heard of the death of Longfellow, and all the tropical forests seemed trembling in pain at our grief. In the inland sea of Japan I heard of the death of Emerson, and all the sacred groves seemed uttering their sympathy with our loss. Wherever on the earth I have put my ear upon the breast of the nations and listened, not to what the people are ready to say publicly in the face of tyranny, but to what they say at firesides and in their secret thoughts, I have always heard President Lincoln's prayer, that government of the people, for the people, and by the people may not perish from the earth. There is another prayer uttered by one whose pierced palms are moulding the ages into the pattern which he loves—a prayer that we all may be one. You land in America resolved to make that prayer your own while life last. You return hoping that those pierced palms may roughly mould you and your nation and all the earth until the ideal of the heart behind them becomes that of the entire family of man. You wish to draw the whole globe into God's bosom so closely that the sound of his pulses may become the marching song of all the ages:—

> "Ring, bells, in unreared steeples—
> The joy of unborn peoples;
> Sound, trumpets, far off blown,
> Your triumph is my own."

## REPLY TO PROFESSOR SMYTH, OF ANDOVER.

*The following is Mr. Joseph Cook's reply to Professor Smyth, of Andover, delivered in Tremont Temple, at the close of the Monday lecture, March 12th. It has been revised for the* "The Independent" *by Mr. Cook, and is the first correct copy published.*

Truth, honour, liberty, and peace are the essentials of healthy life in Congregationalism, as in any other religious body. There must be peace in the Church; but, to use Lord Beaconsfield's phrase, it must be peace with honour, with liberty, and with truth. There must be liberty, but liberty with peace, honour, and truth. There must be honour, but honour with truth, liberty and peace. There must be truth, and this includes within itself peace, liberty, and honour.

*Can Dornerism in eschatology be introduced into the theological chairs and pulpits of the Evangelical churches, and especially of the Congregational body, in consistency with truth, honour, liberty, and peace?*

On this question, which is the central one in all I have said or published in the current debate on probation, I maintain the negative. This is my chief contention now, and has been from the first; so that, establishing this point, my case is carried in precisely the form in which it was stated at the outset of the discussion.

So far was I from intending to attack Professor Smyth, of Andover, when I raised here, on January 8th, the question, "New England Orthodox Theology; or, German State Church Theology, which? Park or Dorner, which?" that I did not have him in mind as one who would be likely to be offended by my criticisms of Dorner. I did not know Professor Smyth's views. I supposed him to be loyal to the Andover Seminary creed, to which he had repeatedly given his signature. I had not the slightest intention of making public reference to him or any of

his friends; and when his twenty-eight questions appeared, I did not even dream that he was their author. Besides, falling into most palpable error in regard to the six matters of fact which I mentioned here on February 19th, Professor Smyth is entirely mistaken in asserting that I "attacked vehemently, and undertook to announce, as by authority, what was agreed upon as to the beliefs of a professor in Andover Seminary."* I profess solemnly that I attacked, and intended to attack, no American, and, least of all, any professor at Andover, a town of great and honourable fame, which is very naturally dear to me, after nearly seven years' residence there as a student.

I took Dorner for the object of my attack for three reasons:

(1) He is an object large enough to be seen on both sides of the Atlantic, so that a discussion of his views has a certain timeliness and dignity abroad as well as at home.

(2) His views had recently been placed before the world in authoritative and final shape in his four volumes of theology, so that there could be no debate as to what his opinions are. There was no authoritative statement before the public, and there is not yet, as to the views of those who are more or less Dorner's followers in this country.

(3) By undermining the authority of Dorner's eschatology, I was sure to undermine the authority of what had been built upon it; and I could not but see, as a student of current events, that in America as well as in Germany, and in the Broad Church, so called, in the Anglican establishment, not a little had been built on it. My object was to strike a blow as useful as possible not only at home, but in any circles to which the printed words of this discussion might ultimately be wafted in newspaper form, or in books republished abroad.

1. *Practical mischiefs of Dornerism and of Professor Smyth's working hypothesis in eschatology:—*

What is Dornerism in eschatology? Some few unprofessional hearers may ask: "What is eschatology?" This word is com-

* See his communication in the *Daily Advertiser*, of February 17, first column.

pounded very simply of Greek *eschatos*, last, and *logos*, a discourse, and means the doctrine of the last things—that is, of death, the last judgment, and the end of the world. It includes in most theological systems a discussion of the resurrection, the intermediate state of departed souls, Christ's second advent, the eternal woe of the lost, and the eternal blessedness of the saved. *It is a topic so unspeakably vast and solemn that no mistake concerning it can be so small as not to be colossal.* It can be fitly discussed only in the clearest light of strictly self-evident truths and of revelation, and in the spirit of devoutest prayer.

If I were speaking only before scholars in theology, I might say that Lutheranism, in spite of its many merits in other particulars, has had a reputation for two centuries for browbeating and twisting Scriptures so as to make the external standard of authority conform to the inner standard of Christian consciousness. Luther himself, with all his massive greatness as preacher, scholar, prophet and reformer, was sometimes guilty of this. It is well known that he denied the canonicity of the Epistle of James, not at all because he thought it spurious as an historical document, but because its contents did not suit his Christian consciousness. His boldness in this matter has not been copied by Calvinistic, Scottish, Anglican, Wesleyan, or American theologians. It has, however, been imitated almost as an inspired precedent by many Lutheran theologians, and specially by Dorner. Although he covers his audacity by a cloud of reverential phrases, he is really almost as eccentric in this matter as was Luther. Here is a scholarly article in a recent number of the British and Foreign Evangelical *Review*,* and it affirms, unqualifiedly, what scholars here know has been said hundreds of times before by the most unprejudiced and learned critics, that, "it became the habit of the Lutheran Church from its cradle to make the word of God bend and bow to prop up those dogmas which were once for all regarded as essentials of revelation." American students of Dorner are likely to be very seriously misled as they examine his "History of Protestant Christianity" and his "System of Christian Doctrine,"

* October, 1882, p. 680.

unless they keep constantly in view this background of notorious facts in the development of the Lutheranism which Dorner champions.

To uproot error we must uproot its lowermost roots, and so I ask you to go back with me to the beginning of Dorner's chief errors, *an undue exultation of the Christian consciousness above Scripture as a source of certainty in regard to religious truth.*

Dorner's tests of truth in theology are Scripture and faith. To these he constantly appeals as the formal and material principles of the Lutheran Reformation, and of Protestanism. They are the organizing ideas of Lutheran theology, of which Professor Dorner is the foremost living representative. Dorner's system of theological thought has really no centre. It is not a circle, but an ellipse, and its two foci are Scripture and Faith. As in the formation of an ellipse, one focus has as much guiding power as the other, so in the construction of his system of doctrine, one of these authorities is as good as the other. The revelation made in the Bible as a whole, and by the incarnation of God in Christ, is one focus of the ellipse; and the other is Faith—a word on which everything depends, but which Dorner is far from using in a clear, distinct, and unvarying meaning. It usually signifies what I must call regenerate individualism; or, what he calls the Christian consciousness. To become authoritative, a doctrine, according to Dorner, must be justified by both these tests. This is only carrying out Luther's famous saying, quoted with approval by Dorner:* "The vital point is that we equalize the Scriptures and the Christian conscience."

It is, of course, clear that there is a great distinction between *conscience* and *consciousness*, as the words are used in philosophy in our day of exact research; but it is by no means clear that Luther always made a distinction between the two, nor that Dorner does, although Luther usually seems to mean the former, and Dorner the latter. Dorner has been greatly influenced by Schleiermacher and Hegel; and his use of philosophical terms cannot always be understood without a tolerably wide knowledge of the systems of thought of his own teachers.

* "History of Protestant Theology," vol. i. p. 256, by T. & T. Clark.

At the last analysis, however, as has been so often charged against other Lutheran theologians, Dorner depends in some cases more on Faith than on Scripture, as a test of religious truth. When Scripture on the one hand and regenerate individualism on the other seem to conflict, he does, in many most important cases, make the latter of considerably more importance than the former. For example, he says: "That some are lost rests on *preponderant* exegetical grounds, but that gives no dogmatic proposition, because this must be derived also from the principle of Faith." No amount of explanation can bring this and the scores of similar passages to be found in Dorner's works into harmony with what standard Evangelical theology has for centuries regarded as sound principles.*

Precisely here is the point at which, according to my judgment, Dorner opens a door for a flood of mystical, obscure, erratic, and often mischievous speculations. As one of his admiring students in America has said, with singular failure to perceive that this praise is the greatest dispraise: "*Any one who has once grasped the controlling principle of Dorner's theology . . . . will need no explanation of Dorner's dogmatic hesitancy, when he finds himself unable to reconcile facts of history or texts of Scripture with that which Faith has already learned to deem Christ-like and most worthy of God.* It is not enough for a Christian doctrine that it be apparently contained in the Scripture; it needs, also, to be recognized as Christian by Faith."†

The obvious peril of this principle is, that its tendency is to make the ultimate test of dogmatic certainty not what the Scriptures declare to be worthy of God, but what the Christian consciousness thinks to be worthy of God. We are not to follow Scripture, even when its preponderating testimony is clear to us, provided our Christian consciousness is opposed to Scripture. We are not to believe what we are taught by revelation as to God, but what we think we ought to be taught. We are not to hold facts

* See Dorner "On the Future State," ed. by the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, p. 127.

† The Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth's introduction to Dorner "On the Future State," p. 12.

of history and texts of Scripture subject to that interpretation which a scientific treatment of the records of revelation requires; we are to put upon them an interpretation which we deem Christ-like and most worthy of God,

(1) My central objection to Dorner's general system of thought is, that his ultimate test of certainty, in many cases of the highest importance, is nothing more than individualistic whim. It may be regenerate individualism to which he appeals; it may be the Christian consciousness of the best portions of the church, age after age; it may be what he calls Faith, regarded as, equally with Scripture, a work of the Holy Spirit; but in a close examination it will be found that it is on what man thinks God ought to teach, and not on what revelation shows that God does teach, that Dorner founds his theology.

(2) I contend that in the fallen estate of human nature there is nothing in man except the intuitions, strictly so-called, or the faculties by which we perceive truths, absolutely self-evident, necessary and universal, that can be safely used as a final test of truth.

(3) Regenerate individualism, used as such a test, and not kept in constant and complete subordination to the written word, and to strictly self-evident truths, is an *ignis fatuus* in the domain of theology, and has been proved to be such by the history of religious speculation, age after age, and recognized as such in all the noblest periods of religious thought and activity.

As scholars here well know Dorner's principle of making regenerate consciousness a final test of truth was held by Schleiermacher. The latter, on account of his teaching this principle, and in spite of the value of many other parts of his work, is justly regarded by the soundest theologians in Scotland, England, and America as one of the unsafe leaders of Christian science. His system, however brilliant in parts, has waned in authority in Germany itself from its tendency to mysticism, obscurity, arbitrariness, and individualistic error. The debate on these points is a very old and thorough one in Germany. The attempt to force Schleiermacher's principles in Dorner's name upon circles well-informed in recent church history, or in love with a reverent Biblical theology and clear ideas, is

reactionary in a degree as audacious as it is unscholarly and mischievous.

Some German theologians, following the principle that we are not to believe of God what is revealed in Scripture and Nature so much as what we think to be Christ-like and most worthy of God, have become champions of Universalism. To create beings when it is foreseen they are to be lost for ever, is not Christian, so these guides say, and, therefore, it must not be supposed that any being can so sin as to be lost. Dorner has been interpreted as doubting whether Omniscience in creating souls foresees the free acts which may lead to their moral ruin. Professor Smyth thinks that the continuance of the lost in being is a difficulty in the vindication of God's justice. It is very significant that liberalistic mysticism, for this is the true name of the system of Dorner and Schleiermacher, on the points here in discussion, agrees with liberalistic rationalism in demanding a religion more Christian than Christianity, and more Christ-like than Christ.

It is an amazement to me that the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, in his introduction to an edition of Dorner's eschatology, should say of a chapter of Dorner's, in which he sets forth the principles I have now stated, and which needs no condemnation other than their statement, that "*he knows of no passage in modern theological literature so thoroughly satisfactory and helpful.*"* Without endorsing Dorner at all points, the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth very unguardedly says: "*I am ready to maintain that the principles upon which Dorner proceeds are clearly Christian.*" Professor Smyth, as I understand him, while not accepting Dornerism "in the lump," does accept these central principles of his system. As a teacher of ecclesiastical history, he must know that Schleiermacher and Dorner, great as they are in other respects, have a reputation for weak and mischievous teaching on these very points. As to the danger of these utterly unscientific principles, the dispraise of them and of Schleiermacher and Dorner as defending them, is to be heard in nearly every high quarter of Christian thought and aggressive evangelical effort.

The Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, indeed, while introducing Dorner's

* Introduction, p. 6.

eschatology to Americans, is frank enough to say:—"It is but justice to Dorner to state that this portion of his work hardly equals in strength and positiveness of results some earlier portion of his system."* The truth is, that Dorner's eschatology, dispassionately judged by internal evidence, is a crude and hasty portion of a great system, too large for any one man to work out thoroughly. It is a dead twig on a tree that has many noble branches; it is a wen on the face of Dorner's large work. The attempt to cut off that dead twig and engraft it into the tree of American religious thought, the effort to remove that wen from its place and plant it in the fair face of New England theology, is a procedure which only needs to be exposed to be defeated.

Dorner holds that the only sin which can cause the ruin of the soul, is the rejection of the historic Christ, as made known in the clearest manner in his atoning love to the human soul, either in this life or in the intermediate state.

The chief reasons for holding this is not that it is anywhere distinctly stated in Scripture, but that it is necessary to the exigencies of Dorner's system to hold it. He does not think it would be Christian in God to do less than this scheme of thought supposes him to do. The divine justice, as well as the divine mercy, requires that no soul should be condemned until in fullest light it has rejected the historic Christ.

Dorner asserts, as of course he must, in harmony with this scheme of thought, that no sin before Christ can be decisive unbelief. "It does not, however, follow," he adds, "that sin before Christ was not in the proper sense sin; was not laden with guilt and punishable . . . . but from this ripeness for eternal perdition cannot proceed."†

The fascination of this scheme of thought to many minds which do not look beneath its surface is that it is put forward in the name of what we must suppose to be Christ-like in God, and in that of broad and high ideas of the divine justice. All that is included in Dorner's or Professor Smyth's broadest definitions of the Christ-like, and of the divine justice, is included in the standard and scholarly systems of theology in definitions of the various divine

* Introduction, p. 21.

† *Ibid.*, p. 20.

attributes, and, of course, without the moral dangers and intellectual absurdities inseparable from Dorner's definition.

Dorner holds, and so must Professor Smyth, in consistency with his hypothesis, that "free moral personality can be fully developed out of the generic state or race connection, and can be finally self-determined in good or evil only through the actual choice or rejection of the supreme ethical good," that is, of the atoning love of the historic Christ, as seen here or in the intermediate state. "Until free self-determination is reached in view of the final good; until, in the approach of that supreme good, the definitive crisis comes to the individual, human character may indeed be sinful and worthy of punishment, but it cannot have reached its final form and permanence." This astounding doctrine as to the development of a free moral personality, and this equally amazing assertion that no one before Christ, or without hearing of Christ, can fix his character permanently in evil, no matter how terrible or confirmed his wickedness may be, are obviously contrary, not only to the best established principles of ethical, psychological and even legal science, but to the plainest inculcations of the Scriptures and common sense.

The supreme practical mischief of Dornerism is the outcome of the positions of which the philosophical and exegetical untenability has now been exposed. Dorner promises a continued probation beyond death, and so indirectly does Professor Smyth's working hypothesis, not only to all who have in this life never heard of the historic Christ, but "to all who have heard of him only in a false, fragmentary, or otherwise seriously imperfect way." This includes the larger part of Christendom itself.* Such a promise as this I do most solemnly and unqualifiedly pronounce atrociously frivolous, as well as mischievous. No such promise as this, but exactly its opposite, is contained in the Gospels. It marks this portion of Dornerism not only as belonging to the siren school of a false liberalism, but as nearly equivalent in practical effect to Universalism, and as really one of the hungriest whirlpools of fascinating and fatal heresy.

* See Professor Smyth's affirmative reply to my fourth question of February 19, and most especially pp. 11–21 of the Rev. Dr. Smyth's introduction.

2. *Answers to Professor Smyth's questions :—*

(1) Is conscience the Redeemer? Is conscience God? No; as the magnetic needle is not magnetism; but it reveals God, as the needle reveals the courses of the magnetic currents.

(2) Does redemption mean the use of the atonement? Redemption, in its active sense, is God's act, not man's; but, in its passive sense, it includes man's free surrender of his soul to God as both Saviour and Lord. God is ever ready to redeem all who yield to him, and therefore, in its practical sense, redemption is limited, on account of man's refusal to repent.

(3) What proof is there that Dorner's influence has paralyzed the preaching of German State churches? My assertion was not that Dorner alone, as an individual, has made a large part of the preaching of the German State churches spiritually barren; but that the system of eschatological teaching which he represents has had that result. I have not affirmed that Dorner originated this mischief; his influence helps to keep it up. It ought to be well known to every professor of ecclesiastical history, that Protestantism in Germany, so far as it is represented by its average churches and preaching, is often spoken of by its friends as a failure.*

Professor Smyth quotes a letter of Tholuck, written to him in 1876, as affirming that there has been a great improvement in the spiritual condition of Germany since the opening of the century. I gladly admit this, especially as to the theological faculties of the leading universities, in which, as I have repeatedly pointed out in public, there has been a great reaction against unbelief. The improvement is not so marked in the pulpits and congregations. But to show that darkness has diminished is not to show that day has come. This same Professor Tholuck, whom Professor Smyth cites to prove that the German State churches are in a fairly good spiritual condition, once said that if they were separated from the State not a score of them, in his opinion, would be capable of self-support. In 1871 and 1873, more than twice or thrice I heard this same revered German teacher lament with tears the spiritual

* See *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for 1882.

inefficiency of the German churches, and I heard Christlieb do this often in 1881. They by no means ascribed the barrenness of the German churches chiefly to their connection with the State. German churches fail to insist with adequate emphasis on the new birth and on present immediate urgencies in religion, such as Dorner's creed does not, and thoroughly Evangelical creeds do, point out. "Converted and unconverted with us," said Professor Tholuck, "are mixed pell-mell together; we are all members of the church after confirmation, whether Christian or not; we have never learned what Jonathan Edwards and Whitefield taught New England, to make a public distinction in our churches between the regenerate and the unregenerate. That distinction is of more importance to American religious life than all your other peculiarities of church management." I have seen the empty State churches of Berlin, and of many another German city; in Halle in 1871 I looked in vain for a prayer-meeting or a Sunday-school. Many of the State preachers go on from such an eschatology as Dorner's into pure Restorationism. I suppose Professor Smyth will not deny that Universalism paralyzes preaching. At this moment the German State Churches are missionary ground for the Baptists, and the Methodists, and the Moravians.

(4) What are the essentials for ordination? Ought men who do not accept the teaching of New England theology and the standards of Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopalian, and Anglican churches, in regard to eschatology, to be refused ministerial standing in the Congregational body?

I have no ecclesiastical position or influence, and desire none. My personal vote in the cases mentioned by Professor Smyth would be governed by the principles defended by Professor Phelps in an article in the *The Independent* of May 18th, and by Professor Park, in an already celebrated address in Boston, published in *The Congregationalist* of November 8th. These Andover professors need no justification for their opinion on the points here in question but their record.

3. *Professor Smyth's obscure and confused propositions:—*

(1) Professor Smyth gives this definition of one of the most fundamental terms in religious science. It will be remembered

that the merits of a definition are clearness, unambiguousness, and easy justifiableness by established usage. It should contain no metaphorical language, nor any as to the meaning of which a debate is possible. "Divine justice," says Professor Smyth, adopting the words of another, "is the self-preserving honour of God, as the absolute, ideal, and actualizing law and guard of all bestowal of worth." What is bestowal of worth? What is the difference between an absolute, an ideal, and an actualizing law? What is a guard of a bestowal of worth? When I read this definition it reminded me of the famous agnostic definition of matter given by Professor Bain: "Matter is a double-faced somewhat, physical on one side and spiritual on the other." What is a side of matter? What is a face? What is a side of a double face? What is a what? What is a somewhat? What is a side of a double face of a somewhat? Herbert Spencer's definition of life came to my mind: "Life is a definite combination of heterogeneous changes, both simultaneous and successive, in correspondence with external coexistences and sequences." All these definitions violate the first principles of clear and definite thinking, and seem to have been constructed to support foregone conclusions.

(2) Professor Smyth says that we may not be able to construct a perfect theodicy; that is, he admits that we may not be able to construct a perfect vindication of God in view of the natural and moral evil in the universe. This is agnostic pessimism in philosophy, and is contrary to the whole resonance of the Holy Scriptures from their first notes to the last.

(3) Professor Smyth says that if any proposition is "a possible truth, no man has a right to lay down a dogma which excludes it." "It is, at least, possible," he affirms, "that Peter believed that the Gospel was preached to dead persons," that is, to souls in the intermediate state, "that they might live according to God in the spirit." Therefore, no man has a right to lay down the dogma that probation ends with this life. Here is a most grave misconception of the whole nature of moral reasoning. It is, at least, possible that to-morrow the sun will not rise, nor the earth be habitable by man; but I have a right to believe that it will rise, and to take it for granted that we shall have our usual tasks to

perform to-morrow. It is possible that Queen Victoria is not living at this moment, therefore her official representatives in various parts of the world have no right to speak in her name. On all such reasoning as this, men of affairs, as well as scholars, look with amazement. It is, at least, possible that Peter did *not* teach that the Gospel was preached to spirits in the intermediate state, and, therefore, no man has a right to lay down a dogma assuming that he *did* teach this—so we might affirm on Professor Smyth's principles. The truth that moral reasoning consists of a balance of probabilities, and that the small straw of one parenthetical passage of obscure and most doubtful interpretation cannot be used to check the flow of the central current of Biblical teaching, and, especially, of our Lord's own constant calculations in eschatology, seems to have escaped entirely from Professor Smyth's attention.

Grant the canonical authority of II. Peter, and Professor Smyth does not attempt to deny it; and in any court of law Peter's controverted phrases in his first Epistle would be interpreted by his second. It is a supreme rule of exegetical science, that one passage of the Bible is not allowed to resist its main drift, and that the plain is not to be explained by the obscure.

4. *His hazardous or heretical propositions :—*

These are all contained in what he adopts from Dornerism. He holds as the best working hypothesis that not merely infants, idiots, lunatics, and some heathen, but all men who have not heard of the historic Christ in this life, or who have only heard of him in a false, fragmentary, or otherwise seriously imperfect manner, will have a continued probation in the intermediate state. He teaches that the orthodox view, which for ages in Evangelical standard creeds has limited probation to this life, is "extra-Scriptural," and a "provincialism" and "a moribund, perishing, and transient formula."

Professor Smyth's propositions imply that the heathen have not a fair chance without a knowledge of the atonement. He teaches that all who see Christ as Judge will previously, either here or hereafter, have a "knowledge" of him as Redeemer. But Paul teaches that those who have not the law, that is, no knowledge of the historic Christ, shall be judged without that law "in the day

when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ." The Holy Scripture so magnifies conscience, and the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, that it teaches that the heathen themselves are without excuse. Professor Smyth so underrates conscience and the moral law revealed to all men through Nature and experience, that he does not regard the heathen, who are outside of Christendom or within it, and have no knowledge of the historic Christ, as without excuse. The heathen at home are often as bad as the heathen abroad. So great is conscience, so unescapable and fair is man's probation under the moral law alone, that the apostle teaches that some who have sinned without a knowledge of the written law, shall be condemned without that law. So does Professor Smyth overlook conscience and the ineffable majesty of the Divine Word which it reveals to every responsible human being, that he teaches, in contradiction not only to Scripture, but to all sound axioms of ethical science, that no man can be condemned at the Judgment Day for any sin which he committed without a knowledge of Christ as Redeemer.

5. *His evasions:—*

It will be noticed that I have answered all Professor Smyth's inquiries. Seven definite questions of mine, fairly suggested by his thirty-one questions, to which I have replied, he rules out and refuses to answer. There is no reply to them in the document to which he refers as written by himself and his colleagues. The inquiries he rejects are precisely those on which I was the most anxious to obtain his opinions, and on which, to all appearance, he could not speak frankly, without serious logical embarrassment.

6. *His self-contradictions:—*

Professor Smyth is in a chair of a theological institution established to maintain precisely the opposite opinions to those represented by his working hypothesis in eschatology. His hypothesis, although only an hypothesis, prevents his teaching the doctrines of the Andover Seminary creed on these vital points. It is a rule of the Andover Seminary that every professor shall signify his solemn assent to the Seminary creed every five years. Nothing that Professor Smyth or any one else has published explains this self-contradiction in a matter of the gravest practical moment.

7. *Four final questions:—*

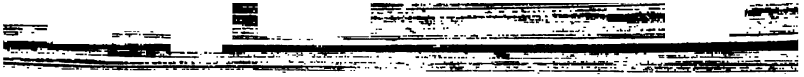
As a means of directing attention, not to personal issues of this discussion, but to the large matter of creed subscription in its widest and most serious relations to the health and honour of the churches, I put four final questions. As Professor Smyth fails to answer nearly half of my inquiries, I put these to the friends of Andover, and especially to its graduates, of whom it is my fortune to be one, and also to the friends of Evangelical Christianity at large. The opinion of the honoured trustees and visitors of Andover on these points the public would receive with the most careful consideration:

(1) How do they show that a working hypothesis, such as Professor Smyth holds, does not prevent his teaching the propositions of the Andover Seminary creed in relation to eschatology?

(2) How do they convince themselves that he who holds this working hypothesis, and calls the orthodox view as to the limitation of probation to this life a moribund, perishing and transient theory, is *both* intelligent and honest in his acceptance of that creed?

(3) How do they show that in allowing such views to be taught at Andover as are the opposite of those which the Andover creed was intended to subserve, there is not something like a breach of trust and a perversion of funds?

(4) What would probably be the opinion of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts on this matter as a question of law and common equity?



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